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THE SELF AS RELATED TO FORMAL PARTICIPATION IN THREE PENNSYLVANIA RURAL COMMUNITIES*

by Emory J. Brown†

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with sociological and social-psychological differentiating factors associated with high and low degrees of participation in formal organizations. The study shows that high and low participants are selected from different positions in the social structure; in addition, both groups have self-images which are similar to actual participation patterns. An exploratory phase of the study gave evidence that community attitudes concerning formal participation role-expectations of various positions are in accordance with actual participant behavior.

Formal social participation has been and continues to be an area of prolific research by rural sociologists.¹ These participation studies focus primarily on differential characteristics associated with people who participate in varying degrees in local organizations. Little emphasis has been given to the process which influences varying levels of participation. This paper analyzes selected differential characteristics of active and inactive participants in formal organizations in three Pennsylvania rural communities, and explores one area of sociological process which influences differential patterns of participation—that of community role-expectations.

*Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society in Haverford, Pa., April 5-6, 1952. The data presented in this paper are from a research project of The Pennsylvania State College Agricultural Experiment Station. For a complete analysis of the data, see Emory J. Brown, "Elements Associated with Activity and Inactivity in Formal Organizations" (Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, 1952). The author is indebted to M. E. John, William Reeder, Donald Hay, J. Allan Beegle, Wilbur Brookover, and Duane Gibson for advice in connection with this research, and also to S. W. Blizzard and Roy C. Buck for their criticism of this paper.

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¹Neal Gross, "Review of Current Research on the Sociology of Rural Life," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (Feb., 1952), p. 85.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The social organization of these three communities can be described in terms of the positions which people occupy.² The respondents play various roles as members of the community social structure. A role consists of a whole set of behaviors which are more or less characteristic of all the occupants of any position. In any society, all individuals who occupy the same positions are adapting to the same set of role-expectations. When we talk about roles, we are referring to a set of behaviors which are expected of any individual who occupies a certain position. Thus, role is a pattern of behavior associated with a particular category of people within the community social structure.

However, each individual is somewhat unique in the specific way in which the role is played. Self-perceptions and self-attitudes serve as intervening variables to determine actual role behavior.

The process by which the individual learns the behavior expected of him can be conceptualized by the scheme of the development of the self. In the process of interacting with other individuals, each person comes to conceive of the self in terms of other people's attitudes toward him. Mead describes

²T. M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950), p. 275.

the dynamics by which the attitudes of the community members are a social-psychological factor in the development of the self when he says, "These social or group attitudes are brought within the individual's field of direct experience, and are included as elements in the structure of the self, in the same way that the attitudes of particular individuals are; and the individual arrives at them, or succeeds in taking them by means of further organizing, and then generalizing, the attitudes of particular other individuals in terms of their organized social bearings and implications."³ The organized community or social group which gives to the individual his unity of self may be called the "generalized other." Thus, the attitude of the generalized other is the attitude of the whole community. The development of the self includes taking the attitudes of other individuals toward himself and toward one another within the human social process, and bringing that social process as a whole into his individual experience. It is in the form of the generalized other that the social process influences the behavior of individuals—i.e., that the community exercises control over the conduct of its individual members.⁴

A person behaves in accordance with what the self means to him. A person's self represents his own side of his perceived relationship to others.⁵ The image of the self acts as a factor in determining role behavior; for, as one writer states, "The conception of self may also be thought of as a role

one intends, or is expected to play in social situations."⁶

Since formal participation is a form of social interaction, the process by which the self develops would be pertinent in analyzing factors associated with formal participant behavior. The expected role behavior associated with various positions becomes a part of the self and would be an aspect of the social process influencing the development of formal participation patterns.

Deduced from the theoretical framework just presented are three hypotheses which delimit the empirical research reported in this paper: (1) Differential formal participation patterns are associated with positions in the community social structure, so that high and low formal participants can be differentiated on the basis of position occupied. (2) Differential formal participation patterns are associated with self-images, so that high and low formal participants have self-images that influence the participant roles they play. (3) Differential participation role-expectation patterns for various positions are in accordance with actual participant behavior of individuals in these positions.

For the purposes of this paper, formal participation includes behavior in voluntary associations where (1) officers are selected, (2) membership is permitted by choice as opposed to automatic or compulsory membership, and (3) at least one face-to-face meeting a year is held.⁷

METHODOLOGY

In order to study the relationship between formal participation and objec-

³ G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 158.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁵ Newcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

⁶ Bingham Dai, "Some Problems of Personality Development Among Negro Children" in *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, ed. by Kluckhohn and Murray (New York: Knopf, 1948), p. 439.

⁷ Cf. F. Boyd, M. Oyler, and W. Nicholls, *Factors in the Success of Rural Organizations*, Kentucky AES Bull. 364, Lexington (1936).

tive and subjective indices of status, 624 individuals were personally interviewed during the summer of 1948 in three Pennsylvania rural communities.⁸ These communities were located in the southern, central, and western parts of the state.

Since the communities were selected only on the basis of type-of-farming area (dairying), population size (2,500-4,000 in total community), and lack of large industry and minority groups, generalizations cannot be more precise than to communities of this type.

Community key informants were used to rate all married residents between the ages of 20 and 65 on "how much they take part in organizations." These ratings were quantified and only the extremes were selected for interviewing, so that about 100 of the most active and 100 of the most inactive individuals in each of the three communities comprise the sample.

The degree of participation for each respondent was later computed in Chapin-Scale scores. It was decided to divide the scores at 15, so that those with 15 or more were called "active" and those with less than that, "inactive." The Chapin-Scale score arithmetic mean for the inactives was 5.46, and that of the actives was 32.17. There was close agreement between the key informants' ratings and the Chapin-Scale scores.

STATUS OF ACTIVES AND INACTIVES IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The analysis showed that the active and inactive formal participants differ significantly on income, education, and occupation—the three objective indices of status used. When the sample was divided into three income groups, almost half the actives but only one-tenth of the inactives were in the high-

est income group (see Table 1). The actives had more formal education, as about 60 per cent of the actives and slightly less than 20 per cent of the inactives had completed high school. A comparison of occupations shows that the actives included a larger percentage of professional, proprietor, and clerical groups than the inactives, while the latter group had a larger percentage of farmers and laborers. Hence, the active formal participants had higher income, education, and occupational status than the inactives. Additional evidence was obtained from key informants in each community who rated the respondents on their "standing" in the community. In all communities, the actives were judged higher in standing than the inactives. The results from this study are in substantial agreement with those obtained in previous studies of socio-economic factors associated with formal participation.

SELF-IMAGES OF ACTIVES AND INACTIVES

Why are actives from high-status groups and inactives from lower ones? Or, what are the social and social-psychological processes that explain formal participation? One possible explanation is that individuals accept for themselves a certain status position and participate in accordance with that self-judgment. The conception of the self would include a feeling either of being expected to or not expected to participate in organizations. Hence, an individual who sees himself in a low-status group would define his role in terms of an image of nonparticipant, while the self-image of high-status individuals would include a feeling of being expected to participate.

A further aspect of the study was to determine whether or not active and inactive formal participants differ in their self-images of formal participation roles played in their communities. The individuals responded to the fol-

⁸ The discrepancy between the number of individuals interviewed and the number of cases for which data are reported in the tables is due to incomplete data.

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE AND INACTIVE FORMAL PARTICIPANTS BY OBJECTIVE INDICES OF STATUS, IN THREE PENNSYLVANIA RURAL COMMUNITIES, 1948

Status indices and categories	Inactive	Active
	(N=212)	(N=278)
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
<i>Family income group:*</i>		
Lowest income	53	22
Middle income	37	36
Highest income	10	42
Total	100	100
	(N=255)	(N=336)
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
<i>Grades of schooling completed:**</i>		
Eight or less	63	24
Nine to eleven	18	13
Twelve	14	37
More than twelve	5	26
Total	100	100
	(N=271)	(N=338)
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
<i>Occupation of male respondents and husbands of female respondents:***</i>		
Professional	2	13
Farmer	39	36
Proprietor	4	21
Clerical	1	9
Skilled and semi-skilled laborer	35	18
Unskilled laborer	19	3
Total	100	100

* $p = <.001$; $C = .38$.

** $p = <.001$; $C = .41$.

*** $p = <.001$; $C = .41$.

lowing questions: "If all of the people who live in this community were to be divided into four groups on the following items, in which group do you think you would fall? Group one would be the highest and group four the lowest: (a) on the number of organizations you belong to; (b) on how active you are in the organizations you belong to."

The active participants generally rated themselves among those people in the community who belong to the most or next to the most organizations, while the inactives usually rated themselves in that group who belong to the least. About two-thirds of the actives

saw themselves in the group belonging to the most or next to the most organizations, while 95 per cent of the inactives had a self-image of being among that group belonging to the next to the least or least number (see Table 2).

The self-rating of degree of activity was assumed to give an index regarding intensity of participation. The actives generally placed themselves in that group which are the most or next to the most active, while the inactives perceived of themselves as in the lower two activity groups. About seven out of ten actives and one out of ten inactives rated themselves among the most

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE AND INACTIVE FORMAL PARTICIPANTS BY SELF-RATINGS ON NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, IN THREE PENNSYLVANIA RURAL COMMUNITIES, 1948

Self-rating on number of organizations belonged to	Inactive (N=272)	Active (N=342)
	Per cent	Per cent
Rank groups:*		
Largest number	0	27
Next to the largest	5	39
Next to the least	15	23
Least number	80	11
Total	100	100

* $p = <.001$; $\phi = .57$.

or next to the most active (see Table 3).

Hence, the active and inactive participants perceived their formal participation patterns and acted in accordance with their self-judgments. The results of these self-ratings are in close agreement with data obtained by W. A. Anderson, on the basis of which he interpreted participation or nonparticipation as an expression by the participants or nonparticipants of their own feeling of superiority or inferiority in the community.⁹

Additional data on self-images were obtained by three staff members in rural sociology at The Pennsylvania State College. They used a non-directive interview technique to question community members from various status positions on their self-image as related to formal participation. The interviewers were interested in finding out whether or not the individuals had self-images of being expected to take part in formal organizations.

Business and professional men generally had a self-image of being expected to belong to the civic organizations, such as the Lion's Club. They

felt expected to spearhead fund-raising drives, to do the planning for the community, and to supervise parades and celebrations. The wives of these business and professional people perceived themselves in a status similar to their husbands and felt expected to play leadership roles and to participate actively in the formal organizations. One businessman, a hardware merchant, felt he was expected to be active and contribute financially to all organizations. But, he verbalized resentment against the people who expect this altruistic behavior and then go to a larger city to purchase their hardware supplies. Although he was of the opinion that businessmen should stop donating money for all types of civic functions, he still felt obligated to conform to his prescribed role in the community. His attitude is probably indicative of the change in rural communities as the familistic *gemeinschaft* social relationships operate in an economy requiring a contractual *gesellschaft* type of social interaction.

High-status farmers felt that they were expected to be active in organizations, such as the Grange and farm cooperatives. Generally, the farmers did not feel that they were expected to participate in community civic organi-

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE AND INACTIVE FORMAL PARTICIPANTS BY SELF-RATINGS ON ACTIVITY IN ORGANIZATIONS, IN THREE PENNSYLVANIA RURAL COMMUNITIES, 1948

Self-ratings on degree of activity in organizations	Inactive (N=261)	Active (N=342)
	Per cent	Per cent
Rank groups:*		
Most active	5	34
Next to the most	6	36
Next to the least	19	22
Least active	70	8
Total	100	100

* $p = <.001$; $\phi = .56$.

⁹ W. A. Anderson, "Family Social Participation and Social Status Self-Ratings," *American Sociological Review*, XI (June, 1946), pp. 253-258.

zations. A few who did were probably playing the role of farm leader.

Results of this study tend to show that individuals have self-images which motivate them to behave accordingly. They have a fairly definite judgment of the role-behavior expected with regard to formal participation.

FORMAL PARTICIPATION ROLE-EXPECTATION PATTERNS

The active and inactive formal participants occupy different positions in the community and have self-images which correspond closely to their participant behavior. This self-image includes a conception of being expected to participate according to certain patterns. Does the community define the roles associated with various positions in such a manner that the people who occupy these positions are expected to have differential patterns of participation? Do the attitudes of community members confirm and lend support to the feelings and self-judgments of individuals in various positions? The community expectations are generalized and incorporated into the structure of the self. Thus, the expectations become stimuli to behave in conformity with the defined role as an occupant of a certain status position.

If the community expectations are social forces which impinge upon the actor and motivate him to participate accordingly, the community members can be expected to express attitudes which indicate the expectation that the higher income, educational, and occupational groups will participate more than the lower groups.

An analysis follows of the ranking, for various objective indices of status, on being expected to take part in formal organizations. No attempt is made to explain why people have differential participation expectations for individuals in various status positions; rather,

these expectations are regarded as part of the ongoing social process.

In the summer of 1950, data were collected in an attempt to examine this problem. Data are included from 69 interview schedules of community members who defined the role of various status positions in regard to formal participation. The schedule contained twenty-five combinations comparing seven different occupations for which the respondent replied to this question: "Which is expected to take the more active part in community organizations?" For each comparison three different replies were possible—for example, "farm tenant," "farm owner," or "both about the same." The respondent chose one of three similar answers for each comparison. There were 24 other comparisons like this, so that all seven occupational groups were compared with each other. Three of the comparisons were duplicated to check reliability of respondents' answers. In addition to occupational comparisons, the following two questions were asked: "Which is expected to take the more active part in community organizations?—(1) A person who is a high-school graduate, a person who is not a high-school graduate, or both about the same. (2) A person who makes \$37.50 a week, a person who makes \$75.00 a week, or both about the same."

This analysis is viewed as an exploratory study. The sample interviewed consists of 54 females and 15 males. No validity is claimed for this sample as being representative of the community. However, the rankings by the women are in the same order as for the men. Some interviews were made in each of the three communities and results were similar in all three. The men interviewed included: 1 farm owner, 3 businessmen, 2 skilled laborers, 2 laborers, 5 professionals, and 2 clerks. The women respondents gave

their husbands' occupations. These were much more representative of the communities than were the occupations of the male respondents, except for a deficiency of farmers among the husbands of women respondents.

The rank order of the occupations on being expected to take part in organizations is: (1) businessmen, (2) professionals, (3) farm owners, (4) skilled laborers, (5) clerks, (6) laborers, and (7) farm tenants.

The respondents expected better educated people to be more active than less educated ones; for when asked which is expected to be more active in community organizations, 69 per cent said "a person who is a high-school graduate," 3 per cent said "a person who is not a high-school graduate," and 28 per cent said "both about the same." The high-income people were expected to be more active than the low-income people, e.g., 46 per cent said "a person who makes \$75.00 a week," 11 per cent said "a person who makes \$37.50," and 43 per cent said "both about the same." Differences in educational level were more significant in participation expectancies than differences in income. Perhaps education is a symbol evoking expectancies of organizational activity to a greater extent than income.

An example of community expectation was observed in one community where a membership committee chairman had been given a list of farmers to be contacted as possible new members. Farm owners were listed first and farm tenants last. Instructions were to start with the top names.

Several respondents, especially older and less educated ones, seemed to concentrate when answering the first several occupation comparisons, and then answered the others without much apparent thought. Perhaps a simpler or shorter list of comparisons would have sufficed. However, the answers to three comparisons used in duplicate on

the schedule for the occupational comparison showed high reliability.

It seems that various indices of status have symbolic meaning to the community members in regard to participation. Education is a factor that symbolizes qualities prerequisite to taking part in organizations. Therefore, the people develop attitudes of expectancy that higher educated people will play an active role in organizations. In the same way, high-income groups are symbolic of phenomena associated with active participation, and the community members expect that behavior. Other characteristics, traits, or qualities could be viewed as symbols evoking differential patterns of expectancies for formal participation.

In subsequent studies, the position being rated should be more sharply defined in order to obtain more specific details of role definition. Positions of high social visibility could be expected to have sharply defined role-expectancies. Also, such a direct and blunt approach as used in this study to measure expectancies must be viewed with suspicion. In addition, the term "expectation" possibly contains several variables which should be delimited and defined for empirical research. For example, in the field interviews, the writer feels that some respondents defined it in terms of what these people actually do in regard to formal participation and others in terms of what they *should* do. Role expectations conceivably offer alternative levels of participation for various status positions as well as individuals within each group, so that research should focus on expectancies of individuals as well as broad status groups. Further study should include analysis of errors in role-taking, for not all people would correctly interpret the attitudes of other people expressing expected role behavior. Another area of study would be the communication process by which these community attitudes are

communicated to individuals within various social groups. And whether or not the participation expectation patterns for various roles in other communities will vary from results of this study will have to be investigated.

SUMMARY

Data have been presented showing that high participants in formal organizations are generally members of the upper educational, occupational, and income groups while the low participants in such organizations occupy the lower categories on these sociological variables. The high and low formal participants have developed self-images which correspond closely to their actual participant behavior, and they feel expected to participate accordingly. Furthermore, the community members have differential expectations of various status positions so that they expect the white-collar, high income and educational groups to be more active in organizations than laborers and farmers, and low income and educational

groups. Results indicate that the cycle of nonparticipation, self-judgment, and expectations of the community is a barrier that would have to be broken if total involvement of community members in organizations is desired.

An analysis of the social forces causing one group of people to be active in organizations and another inactive can be made on an abstract level by means of the concept of the development of the self. Roles played by occupants of various status positions are defined in terms of levels of formal participation expectations. These patterns of expectation or attitudes of the generalized other become a part of the self, so that the individual behaves in accordance with what other people expect of him. He takes the role of others with whom he interacts and plays his role in conformity with what other people's behavior toward him means. Hence, the role-expectation patterns are viewed as one factor in the development of the self as regards formal participation.

AN APPLICATION OF THE LINEAR DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

by G. V. Brandow and A. K. Potter†

ABSTRACT

The linear discriminant function appears to be a useful statistical technique in sociology and economics, but application of it in these fields has been slow to develop. This paper illustrates its applicability in the analysis of social participation data from three central Pennsylvania communities.

The problem of what characteristics of farmers best discriminate between active and inactive participants is used to demonstrate the technique. The results are compared with the results obtained by merely comparing the individual measures for the two groups, and with the results from multiple regression techniques. Some limitations of the linear discriminant function method are pointed out, but it is concluded that this technique is definitely useful in analyzing certain kinds of sociological and economic data.

The linear discriminant function¹ is no longer a new statistical technique—R. A. Fisher's first paper on it appeared in 1936—but application of it to social data has been slow to develop. It appears to be useful in sociology and economics, however, and the authors have experimented with it in the analysis of three sets of data from those fields. None of the trials purported to be a thorough study of the problem involved, and no sociological or economic significance is claimed for the results. Most of the points that one might wish to make about the applicability of the technique can be illustrated with one of these trials, an analysis of social participation of farmers.

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¹ Three papers by R. A. Fisher, originally published in the *Annals of Eugenics* (Vol. VII, Pt. II, 1936, pp. 179-188; Vol. VIII, Pt. IV, 1938, pp. 376-386; Vol. X, Pt. IV, 1940, pp. 422-429) appear as papers Nos. 32, 33, and 34 in his collected works, *Contributions to Mathematical Statistics* (Wiley, 1950). For a description of the theory and method, see also David Durand, *Risk Elements in Consumer Installment Financing* (Studies in Consumer Installment Financing No. 8, National Bureau of Economic Research), 1941, pp. 105-158, and P. G. Hoel, *Introduction to Mathematical Statistics* (Wiley, 1947), pp. 121-126. A bibliography is given in P. O. Johnson, *Statistical Methods in Research* (Prentice-Hall, 1949), pp. 343-357.

The data were taken from a study² in which from 8 to 13 local persons in each of three communities classified more than 4,000 farm and nonfarm individuals into five participation groups ranging from least active to most active. Among the least active participants were 42 farmers, and among the most active participants were 44 farmers. Thus, there were two distinct groups (though in this case they did not comprise the whole population), and a problem for which the linear discriminant function might be useful was at hand: What characteristics of an individual were associated with his being in one group rather than in the other? Or, in slightly different terms, what characteristics of these farmers discriminated between the active and the inactive participants?

This question can be approached by comparing averages for various measurements on the active and inactive participants. Five characteristics of the farmers are listed in Table 1, together with the means and the differences between means for the two groups. Income is measured in class intervals rather than in actual dollars. On the average, the active participants

² E. J. Brown, "Elements Associated with Activity and Inactivity in Formal Organizations" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., 1952).

TABLE 1. MEANS AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS FOR FIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF FARMERS WHO PARTICIPATED MOST ACTIVELY AND LEAST ACTIVELY IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS, THREE PENNSYLVANIA COMMUNITIES, 1948

Characteristic	Most active (N = 44)	Least active (N = 42)	Difference
X_1 Income (in class intervals).....	4.9318	2.9286	2.0032
X_2 Age	43.477	46.048	-2.571
X_3 Years of school completed.....	11.182	7.524	3.658
X_4 Years in community.....	33.023	26.548	6.475
X_5 Size of family.....	4.4091	4.2619	.1472

had higher incomes, were younger, were better educated, had lived in the community longer, and had larger families than inactive farmers.

The linear discriminant function for the data summarized in Table 1 is

$$Z = X_1 + .0143X_2 + .5743X_3 + .0117X_4 - .2051X_5 \quad (1)$$

This function utilizes the five measurements, $X_1 \dots X_5$, to yield Z , a sort of index number. The Z -score for any individual is computed by substituting his values of $X_1 \dots X_5$ in the function. High values of Z indicate that the individual is an active participant; low values indicate an inactive participant. The Z -value serving as the dividing point between the two groups is often computed by substituting for X_1 the simple average of (a) the mean of X_1 for active participants and (b) the mean of X_1 for the inactive participants—and similarly for $X_2 \dots X_5$.³

Obviously, a principal statistical problem is how to compute the coefficients of the X 's in equation (1), the k 's in the general statement of the function:

$$Z = k_1X_1 + k_2X_2 + \dots + k_pX_p \quad (2)$$

The method seeks to obtain coefficients (k 's) such that the squared difference between the mean Z -score for one group and the mean Z -score for the other group is as large as possible

³ This method is not ideal, however, if the two groups differ greatly in size. See Durand, *ibid.*

in relation to the variation of the Z -scores within the groups. Although the k 's actually obtained are only proportional to such coefficients, they are satisfactory for the purpose of the function. A set of simultaneous equations must be solved:

$$\begin{aligned} S_{11}k_1 + S_{12}k_2 + \dots + S_{1p}k_p &= d_1 \\ S_{12}k_1 + S_{22}k_2 + \dots + S_{2p}k_p &= d_2 \\ \dots &\dots \\ S_{1p}k_1 + S_{2p}k_2 + \dots + S_{pp}k_p &= d_p \end{aligned}$$

The subscripts denote the characteristics. The S 's are the pooled sums of squares and products within groups,⁴ and the d 's are the differences between group means. The following table amplifies this and indicates the necessary computations.

	Active participants (group 1)		Inactive participants (group 2)
$d_1 =$	$\frac{\Sigma X_1}{n_1}$	minus	$\frac{\Sigma X_1}{n_2}$
$S_{11} =$	$\Sigma X_1^2 - \frac{(\Sigma X_1)^2}{n_1}$	plus	$\Sigma X_1^2 - \frac{(\Sigma X_1)^2}{n_2}$
$S_{12} =$	$\Sigma X_1X_2 - \frac{\Sigma X_1\Sigma X_2}{n_1}$	plus	$\Sigma X_1X_2 - \frac{\Sigma X_1\Sigma X_2}{n_2}$

(n_1 and n_2 are the numbers of observations in groups 1 and 2, respectively.)

⁴ The values of k may be computed from sums of squares and products taken over all the data rather than within groups, in which case the formula for R^2 given later must be modified.

The simultaneous equations used in the study of participation and leading to equation (1) are:

$$\begin{aligned} 151.58k_1 - 105.43k_2 + 69.117k_3 + 142.71k_4 + 62.013k_5 &= 2.0032 \\ -105.43k_1 + 11549k_2 - 845.87k_3 + 9025.4k_4 - 443.11k_5 &= -2.571 \\ 69.117k_1 - 845.87k_2 + 491.03k_3 - 167.23k_4 + 51.965k_5 &= 3.658 \\ 142.71k_1 + 9025.4k_2 - 167.23k_3 + 26899k_4 - 420.43k_5 &= 6.475 \\ 62.013k_1 - 443.11k_2 + 51.965k_3 - 420.43k_4 + 328.76k_5 &= .1472 \end{aligned}$$

Since only the proportion of one k to another is found, it is customary (though not essential) for the purpose of the function to adjust the k 's obtained from the simultaneous equations so that the value of one of them— k_1 , if convenient—is unity and the others bear the proper relation to it. The numerical coefficients of equation (1) were computed in this manner.

Equation (1) states the best way to combine the five variables (measured as they are—income in terms of class intervals, age in years, and so on) to achieve maximum discrimination between active and inactive participants. This may be highly useful in predicting the social participation of other farmers in the same or similar communities. It is an important advantage of the discriminant function over a comparison like that of Table 1.

Equation (1) states that high values of X_2 (age of farmer) and low values of X_5 (size of family) contribute to high values of Z and, therefore, to placing an individual in the active category; while Table 1 suggests that the opposite is true. A "reversal of signs" of this sort may occur when two or more of the characteristics are correlated with each other. In this case, for example, size of family and income are positively correlated, and income is positively associated with participation. When the relation of size of family to participation is found, holding income and the other variables constant, the correlation is negative.⁵

⁵ The coefficient for size of family is not significantly different from zero. It could be significant in a similar case, however, and the principle illustrated here is valid.

Thus, the gross relationships indicated in a comparison like that of Table 1 can be seriously misleading. The discriminant function shows net relationships, in which the investigator is likely to be much more interested. (Net relations can be shown in a table by elaborate subsorting, but often the number of observations is too small for the method.) This is a second advantage of the function.

The values of k are influenced not only by the association of the independent variables with participation but also by the units in which they are measured. For example, income is measured in terms of class intervals; if income were measured in dollars per month and the class interval equalled \$20, the value of k_1 would be one-twentieth its value in equation (1)—or, since k_1 was made equal to unity, the other k 's would be 20 times their present values. An acceptable way to obtain coefficients—here called k' —that show the relative importance of the five characteristics as discriminating variables independently of units of measurement is to adjust the k 's for the differences in the standard deviations of the variables. k'_1 equals unity, and

$$k'_p = k_p \frac{\sigma_P}{\sigma_1}$$

The standard deviations are computed from

$$\sigma_p^2 = \frac{S_{pp}}{n_1 + n_2 - 2}$$

In the participation study:

Characteristic	k'
X_1 Income	1.000
X_2 Age100
X_3 Education	1.039
X_4 Years in community.....	.127
X_5 Size of family.....	-.241

Of the five variables, income and education are most highly related to

participation, size of family is next most closely associated with participation, and age and years in the community are of little, if any, importance. (It should be mentioned that almost all of the farmers in the study had lived in the community for many years.)

Probably a close parallel between the discriminant function and multiple regression has already been noted. The principal difference is that in the discriminant analysis the factor being estimated or predicted—in the example used here, participation—is a dichotomy, while in regression analysis the dependent variable is quantitatively expressed. The k and k' of the discriminant analysis are comparable to b (the partial regression coefficient) and to β (b adjusted for the difference between the standard deviations of two variables) in regression analysis. Fisher⁶ has shown that the two methods virtually merge, if (to use the example of this paper) the dependent variable, participation (y), is quantified by assigning the following dummy values to the active (group 1) and inactive (group 2) farmers:

$$y_1 = \frac{n_2}{n_1 + n_2} \quad \text{and} \quad y_2 = \frac{-n_1}{n_1 + n_2}.$$

The close relation between the two methods is useful in interpreting the test for statistical significance of the discriminant function. Even if participation were not related at all to the five characteristics in the population from which the sample was drawn, a discriminant function of some sort would be obtained through chance alone. To test whether equation (1) achieves greater discrimination than would be likely to result from chance,

R^2 is computed and then tested with the familiar F test.

$$R^2 = \frac{n_1 n_2 (k_1 d_1 + k_2 d_2 + \dots + k_p d_p)}{n_1 + n_2 + n_1 n_2 (k_1 d_1 + k_2 d_2 + \dots + k_p d_p)}$$

The values of k used here must be the ones obtained from the solution of the simultaneous equations, before adjustment, so that k_1 equals unity. This R^2 has the same value as has the squared multiple correlation coefficient computed for the same data with the dependent variable, participation, quantified as stated above. The test of significance is

$$F = \frac{R^2 (n_1 + n_2 - p - 1)}{p(1 - R^2)}.$$

The lesser degrees of freedom equal the number of independent variables, p , and the greater degrees of freedom equal $n_1 + n_2 - p - 1$. The R^2 in this study is .498 and is highly significant.

There is also the question of whether each of the characteristics adds significantly to the discrimination performed by the function—whether each k is significantly different from zero. The decision is made in terms of the simple correlation, r^2 , between the Z-scores obtained when the whole function is used and the Z-scores obtained when the variable in question is omitted from the function. A high value of r^2 indicates that omitting the characteristic makes little difference and that the variable is not significant. There are two forms of this test. One, generally favored by Fisher, does not call for recomputing the values of the k 's for the other variables when a single variable is dropped from the function. The second calls for recomputing the other k 's so that the best fitting function is obtained after one variable has been omitted. Fisher gives the test of significance (the variance ratio, or F) for the first procedure and implies the test for the second.⁷

⁶ R. A. Fisher, *Contributions to Mathematical Statistics*, Paper No. 32 (Wiley, 1950).

⁷ R. A. Fisher, *ibid.*, Paper No. 34.

In the participation study, the appropriate tests indicated that X_2 and X_4 were not nearly significant, and it was decided to omit them from the function. It was also observed that the presence or absence of a telephone was highly associated with participation. Though this factor can hardly be regarded as a cause of participation, it may be used as a discriminating variable. Using it in the function raised a common problem, however: how to use as a discriminating variable a measurement that is not quantitatively expressed. This was done by assigning the value 0 to the absence of a telephone and the value 1 to the presence of a telephone. The new function was found to be

$$Z = X_1 + .513X_3 - .257X_5 + 1.710X_6 \quad (3)$$

The R^2 for this function is .519 and is highly significant. Also,

Characteristic	k'
X_1 Income	1.000
X_3 Education	.929
X_5 Size of family	-.303
X_6 Telephone	.508

Equation (3) classifies 84 per cent of the observations correctly⁸ (probably an overstatement of the population proportion) and appears acceptable as the final form of the linear discriminant function for the participation study. Whether each k is or is not significantly different from zero may be tested by the use of τ^2 (other k 's not recomputed when one variable is omitted) as described above.

Characteristic omitted	τ^2	F
X_1 Income	.805	5.82
X_3 Education	.846	4.60
X_5 Size of family	.977	.69
X_6 Telephone	.947	1.57

⁸ τ^2 computed over all the data—not within groups.

⁸ An observation is properly classified when the Z -score computed for it from the discriminant function correctly selects to the group of the dichotomy to which the observation belongs.

Since the value of F required for the 5 per cent level of significance in this case is 2.72, the function contains two measurements whose statistical significance has not been established.

USE OF CHAPIN SCORE AND REGRESSION

If the 86 farmers' participation were measured by the Chapin Scale⁹ rather than by classification into one of two categories (active and inactive), the dependent variable would be quantitatively expressed and ordinary multiple regression could be used for the analysis. This alternative was tried and the following regression equation obtained:

$$Y = -15.2 + 3.78X_1 + 1.96X_3 - .263X_5 + 13.71X_6 \quad (4)$$

Y is the Chapin Score, and the X 's stand for the same variables as previously.

The R^2 obtained was .509 and was highly significant. The values of β were:

Characteristic	β
X_1 Income	.296
X_3 Education	.277
X_5 Size of family	-.024
X_6 Telephone	.323

Comparison of equations (3) and (4) shows that the direction of the effect of each independent variable on participation was the same in each case.

⁹ F. S. Chapin, "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 4 (Apr., 1939), pp. 157-168. This scale has at least been partially standardized, and has been used in several previous formal participation studies. The Chapin formal participation scale, first developed in 1928 and revised in 1937, purports to measure the intensity and extensity of an individual's participation in terms of a quantitative score arrived at by the following scoring system: one point for membership in an organization, two points for attendance, three points for pecuniary contributions, four points for committee membership, and five points for office-holding. The total number of points for all organizations an individual participates in is his Chapin Scale Score.

This is noteworthy because the sign of X_5 in the discriminant function was not consistent with Table 1. The two R 's were nearly the same size. The relative importance of the variables as measured by k' and β was the same, except that telephone was given greater importance in the Chapin Score-regression analysis than in the discriminant function. The general similarity of the results is attributable to the close association of the Chapin Scores with the classification performed by local informants and to similarity of the regression and discriminant function methods.

A comparison of this sort often is not possible, because usually we do not have two closely associated measurements, one qualitative and the other quantitative, for the dependent variable.

SOME LIMITATIONS OF THE METHOD

Often certain independent variables that might be used in a discriminant function are qualitatively rather than quantitatively expressed. If some order is clearly implied, as when health of children is described as excellent, good, fair, or poor, often the variable may be arbitrarily quantified and useful results obtained. If a dichotomous independent variable such as presence or absence of telephone is quantified and if this variable is the dominant discriminating characteristic, bi-modal Z -distributions may be obtained, with serious violation of the mathematical assumptions upon which the method is based. This happened, for example, in a study of migration of rural youths¹⁰ in which marriage proved to be much more highly associated with leaving the home community soon after high school than were IQ, personality score, or family income. This difficulty is not serious when the dichotomous inde-

pendent variable is not dominant—for example, the presence or absence of a telephone in the participation study. An independent variable that is qualitatively expressed in several classes without any clearly implied order (nationality or religion, for instance) cannot be used in the discriminant function.

The method assumes that relationships are additive and linear. If, in the study of participation, size of family had one effect on participation in the low-income brackets and another or none at all in the high-income brackets, the discriminant function would not accurately describe the situation. Nor would it give satisfactory results if an additional year of education had one effect on participation among farmers who had not gone beyond the eighth grade and another or none at all among farmers who had gone further. Transformation of the data to logarithmic or other forms, or similar devices sometimes used in multiple regression analysis offer possibilities of handling some of these situations, but the usefulness of these expedients seems limited in practice.

The time required for the computations needed in the linear discriminant function method is about the same as that needed for the corresponding calculations in multiple regression and correlation. The method is much more laborious than making sorts and sub-sorts in tabular analysis.

Despite its limitations, however, the linear discriminant function seems to be useful in analyzing one particular kind of sociological and economic data. In the three trials of the method on which this conclusion is based, it gave reasonable and interpretable results. This does not mean, of course, that a high degree of discrimination can be expected whenever the data are in proper form for application of the method, because there may be no significant relationships in the data.

¹⁰ One of the three trials upon which this discussion is based.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF FARM OPERATORS SOUGHT AS SOURCES OF FARM INFORMATION IN A MISSOURI COMMUNITY

by Herbert F. Lionberger†

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of an intensive field investigation to determine whether farm operators who were sought as sources of farm information in a northeast Missouri farming community possessed characteristics which distinguished them from other farm operators in the community.

Analysis of the data revealed that those who were most frequently sought as sources did possess such characteristics and that many of these characteristics were functionally related to the diffusion and use of farm information.

An answer to the question whether local influentials possess the same leadership qualities under other cultural conditions known to exist in rural society must await further research.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT¹

The search for information on a person-to-person basis is a characteristic condition of rural life. When other sources of farm information are used with reluctance, the advice of friends and neighbors is often freely sought. Persons who are more turned to as sources of information are naturally in a position to exercise greater influence and potential leadership in promoting technological change than others. This study attempts to determine whether farm operators who were frequently used as sources of farm information in a northeast Missouri farming community possessed characteristics which distinguished them from their less sought associates.

In order to determine who were in greatest demand as sources of farm information, all of the 279 farm operators in the community were asked to indicate to whom they talked most frequently about farm problems. In the responses to this question, 22 of the farmers interviewed were mentioned

by 5 or more other farm operators, 60 were named by 2 to 4 others, 72 by one, and 125 were not mentioned at all. These groups are designated here as A, B, C, and D groups, respectively. Only selected social and economic characteristics of these farm operators are considered in this paper. Other characteristics more directly pertinent to the diffusion and use of farm information will be presented in a later publication.²

SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Age and Experience.—Despite tendencies in American society to defer to age and experience in the exercise of privilege and power, Group A farmers were not appreciably older or more experienced than other farmers in the community. The average age for Group A operators was 50 years. However, the average age for all operators was 50.2, and the range by the subgroups previously indicated did not exceed six years. Twenty-three per cent of the Group A operators were less than thirty-five years of age, which was

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¹The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to C. E. Lively for his continual assistance and direction throughout the study, and to C. M. Coughenour who did the interviewing and assisted in planning the study.

²This paper represents only a small segment of a larger and more comprehensive project designed to study barriers to the diffusion and use of farm information, with particular reference to the influence of informal associational patterns.

somewhat greater than the proportion in groups B, C, and D of similar age (percentages were 22, 19, and 16, respectively). In contrast to the other groups, in which the proportions having attained the age of 70 years ranged from 5 to 7 per cent, no Group A operator had attained that age. Also, somewhat fewer Group A operators were 60 to 69 years of age than the operators in groups B, C, and D. Thus, the fact that a farmer's age was less than the average seems to have been no barrier to his acceptance as a personal source of farm information by other farm operators. On the other hand, those 60 years of age and over were somewhat less frequently sought as sources than those under sixty.

Group A operators were also very similar to other groups with respect to average years of farm experience. They had been farming for an average of 24 years. The community average was 24.3 and the averages for groups A through D did not vary more than four years. About 23 per cent of Group A had been farming for less than 10 years, but none had been farming for as many as 50 years. Except for including no farmers who had been farming 50 years or more, Group A operators were not significantly different from other groups with respect to farm experience. From 3 to 10 per cent of the operators in groups B, C, and D had been farming for 50 years or more.

Residence.—Except for one area of comparative social isolation, Group A operators were quite proportionally distributed throughout the community. Although approximately 18 per cent of the farm operators of the community were residing in this isolated area, no one in the area was mentioned by five or more farm operators as a most frequently sought source of farm information. The area was characterized by poorer farming methods,

less mechanization, and lower farm incomes than generally prevailed elsewhere in the community. The distinctive nature of the area was readily recognized by farm operators living within the area as well as by those living outside of it.

Group A operators had been living in the community for an average of about 38 years. Two-thirds of them had been residing there for 30 or more years. The medians for years of residence of group B and C operators were 33 and 35 years, respectively. On the other hand, those never mentioned as persons most frequently sought as sources of farm information (Group D) had been living in the community for an average of only about 25 years. Although there was some tendency to look to operators who had been living in the community for extended periods of time, 4 of the 22 Group A operators had been living there less than 10 years.

It is thus apparent that characteristics which cause others to look to particular farm operators for advice and assistance are by no means perfectly correlated with either age or length of residence in the community.

Schooling.—Group A operators were not distinctly different from groups B, C, and D with respect to average educational attainment. Group A reported an average of 8.8 years of schooling; Group B operators reported an average of 9.0 years; and groups C and D, 8.8 and 8.7 years, respectively. Slightly over half of the Group A operators reported 8 years of schooling. Only one reported less than that amount. Four of the 22 (18 per cent) had had some college training; this was somewhat in excess of the proportion of college-trained people in groups B, C, and D. The one Group A operator with less than eight years of schooling was an elderly man who was operating a farm much larger than the average for

Group A. He, like other Group A operators, had established a reputation for good farming.

PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL SOCIAL GROUPS

Participation in formal social groups is related both to social standing in the community and to the diffusion and use of farm information. Although this paper makes no attempt to analyze the relationship between formal associational patterns and farm practice acceptance-use, qualitative classification schemes are used for presenting social participation characteristics of farm operators in a framework which is functionally related to the diffusion and use of farm information. Two attributes of formal social participation which are likely to bear such a functional relationship are the expansiveness of associational patterns and the degree of secularization manifest in group objectives and activities. Formal group membership and participation are accordingly classified into categories representing varying degrees of outward orientation from the localistic setting and in two contrasting degrees of secularization—namely, sacred and secular. Although neither scheme provides a discrete series of categories into which all formal organizations operating in the community will neatly fit, both provide a satisfactory measure of relative differences with respect to these attributes. Another qualitative measure, which is probably more useful for status differentiation purposes than for an analysis of the relationship to the diffusion of farm information, is social participation requiring distinctive administrative or advisory responsibility. Formal groups of this kind have accordingly been segregated for special consideration.

Since amount of social participation as well as kind may be functionally related to the diffusion of farm information and the acceptance of new farm practices, some quantitative measure

of social participation was needed. In order to provide such a measure, a series of social participation scores based on both kind and quantity of social participation in currently organized formal groups was introduced and used.³

Formal Groups of Localistic Orientation.—Formal social groups of localistic or neighborhood orientation do not regularly provide contacts outside the immediate locality or neighborhood. They represent the more localistic of the formal social groups—such organizations as the local P.T.A., farm clubs, and various church-affiliated groups. With the possible exception of the more formal aspects of church participation, informal visiting and purely social activities predominate among the major objectives of these groups. In the community studied, they were more widely distributed than social groups of extra-localistic orientation. From the standpoint of membership and distribution, the church was the most universal of the localistically oriented social groups, by a wide margin.

Eighty-two per cent of Group A operators were church members. The proportions for groups B, C, and D ranged from 40 per cent for Group D to 56 per cent for Group C. Furthermore, Group A operators were much more active in church activities than

³ Social participation scores were computed in a manner similar to the methods used by F. Stuart Chapin, and later by Donald Hay and others. Credits were assigned for participation of farm operators in formal social groups as follows: membership, 1 point; occasional attendance, 1 point; regular attendance, 2 points; committee membership, 3 points; and holding an office, 4 points. Individual participation scores were obtained by adding the scores for each organization in which an operator participated. More specific types of social participation scores were obtained by computing scores for participation in formal organizations of localistic, community, and extra-community orientation and for participation in church, secular, and administrative or advisory formal groups.

group B, C, and D operators. The average church participation score for Group A was 11.0, which was more than twice the average for groups B and C, and almost three times the average for Group D. Although the local P.T.A. ranked second to the church from the standpoint of membership, it was one of the few social groups in which Group A operators showed less participation than other farmers. Only one of the 22 Group A operators reported P.T.A. membership. Groups B, C, and D reported membership ranging from 14 to 25 per cent. Grange membership was small for all groups—Group A led the list with 9 per cent; in no other group did membership exceed 6 per cent.

All of the Group A operators were members of at least one localistically oriented social group, whereas from 23 to 35 per cent of the operators in groups B, C, and D reported no such affiliation. The median composite participation score for Group A operators in all formal social groups of localistic orientation was 7.2. Comparable scores for groups B and C were 5.4 and 4.7, respectively, while the median score for Group D was only 3.2 (see Figure 1). Approximately 5 per cent of both group A and B operators had scores of 20 or more. Scores for all group C and D operators were less than 20. When church participation scores are removed from the composite scores for each group, it is obvious that church participation is the component of localistic social participation which sets apart Group A operators as distinct from groups B, C, and D. Their participation in localistic formal organizations not affiliated with the church was no greater than that of operators in groups B, C, and D.

Formal Groups of Community-wide Orientation.—Formal groups of community-wide orientation are those which provide regular contacts outside

the immediate neighborhood or locality, but not outside the community. Some of these organizations are village-centered, and some are not. Some, for example the local Missouri Farmers' Association, provide little or no opportunity for association on a personal group basis, while certain others, such

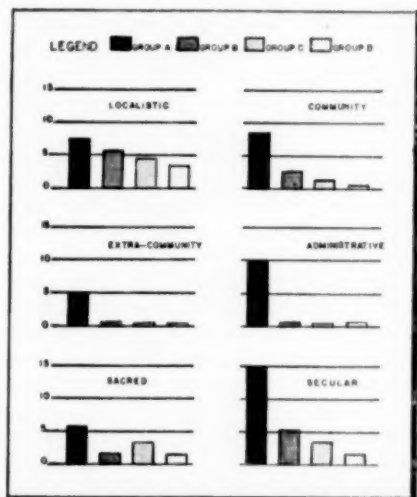


FIGURE 1. AVERAGE SOCIAL PARTICIPATION SCORES OF GROUP A, B, C, AND D FARM OPERATORS

as the Daughters of the American Revolution and fraternal lodges, stress this function. All of them tend to be selective of membership on a special-interest rather than on a locality basis and, therefore, are essentially special-interest groups. All embody mechanisms for self-maintenance and exclusion of members and activities not compatible with the promotion of the interests represented. In the aggregate, they provide a wider range of contacts than formal social groups of purely localistic orientation, but not as wide as those of extra-community orientation.

About 41 per cent of the Group A operators were members of the com-

munity Civic Club, which is an organization directed to community improvement. Ten per cent of the Group B operators were members, compared with only 4 per cent of those in groups C and D.

Seventy-seven per cent of the Group A operators were members of the Wolf Club, a club organized to rid the community of wolves, which were destructive of young livestock. But only 25 per cent of the Group B operators, 15 per cent of the Group C operators, and 13 per cent of those in Group D belonged to the club.

Fifty-nine per cent of the Group A operators were members of the Adult Farm School, provided through the facilities of the vocational agriculture department of the local high school. Thirteen per cent of the Group B operators, 8 per cent of those in Group C, and 4 per cent in Group D attended these classes. Thirty-two per cent of the Group A operators were members of the Hundred Bushel Club, which was dedicated to producing high corn yields by the use of improved farm practices. Three per cent of the Group B operators and one per cent in Group C were members; but none in Group D was so affiliated. Forty-five per cent of Group A operators were members of the Clarence Grain Company, a local grain marketing cooperative, compared with 12 per cent of those in Group B, 7 per cent of those in Group C, and 4 per cent in Group D.

Only fifteen farmers in the entire community were members of such fraternal organizations as the Masonic lodge, the Woodmen, and the Odd Fellows, and only one was a Group A operator. All other members were group B, C, and D operators.

About 64 per cent of the Group A operators were members of the local unit of the Missouri Farmers' Association, as were 40 per cent of the Group B operators, 38 per cent of the Group C

operators, and 28 per cent of those in Group D.

Viewed in the aggregate, 86 per cent of the Group A operators and 65 per cent of the Group B operators were members of at least one formal organization of community-wide orientation. Comparable figures for groups C and D were 53 and 39 per cent, respectively. Median community participation scores ranged from less than one for farm operators in groups C and D to 9.0 for Group A operators. The median for Group B was 2.7. Thus, Group A operators were distinctly more active in formal organizations of community-wide orientation than other farm operators in the community.

Formal Groups of Extra-Community Orientation.—Formal groups of extra-community orientation provide regular contacts beyond the boundaries of the community. Such organizations are ordinarily administrative or advisory in nature, or are specifically designed to promote special interests. In nearly all of these groups entertainment as an objective is strictly incidental. In composition they draw heavily from county administrative and advisory boards and commissions.

Forty-one per cent of the Group A operators were members of the extension association, a county organization for sponsoring the local office of the Agricultural Extension Service. Twenty-three per cent of the Group B operators were members, but no one in groups C or D was in this organization. Three of the 22 Group A operators were members of the county Agricultural Extension Service governing board. No one in groups B, C, or D was serving on this board.

Other county boards and commissions on which only Group A operators were serving were the Shelby County Livestock Marketing Commission, with 27 per cent membership, and the Shelby County Soil Conservation District

Board of Supervisors, with two members on the board. One Group A operator was serving on the county school board and another on the county Selective Service board.

With the exception of two persons serving on the county Production and Marketing Administration Board and five serving on the county 4-H Club Council, no farm operator in the community other than those in Group A were members of any county administrative, advisory, or governing board known to the investigators in this study. Taken in the aggregate, only eight farm operators in groups B, C, or D reported any participation at all in formal social organizations of extra-community orientation. This represents only 3 per cent of the farmers in these groups. On the other hand, almost 55 per cent of the Group A operators reported membership in at least one formal social group of extra-community orientation. Median scores for participation in formal organizations of extra-community orientation ranged from less than one for farm operators in groups B, C, and D to 5.0 for those in Group A. Thus, social participation in formal organizations of extra-community orientation was almost exclusively a function of Group A operators.

Secular Social Groups.—Since participation in formal secular groups is likely to bear a different relationship to the diffusion of farm information than participation in church-affiliated organizations, a dichotomous "sacred-secular" classification was used in further analysis.⁴ Since participation in church

organizations is essentially a localistic phenomenon, it has already been treated as one form of social participation in formal groups of localistic orientation. In addition to providing a more useful framework for analyzing the relationship between social participation in formal groups and the diffusion of farm information, the sacred-secular classification permits a more careful examination of the relationship between church participation and community prestige which became apparent during the prestige-rating process.

Nothing further need be said at this point concerning church participation differentials, except to restate that church membership was more universal for Group A operators than for group B, C, and D operators, and that the church participation score for Group A operators was almost twice that of any other group. Even so, differentials in participation in formal secular social groups were even greater. The secular participation score for Group A operators was 15. This was about three times the score for Group B operators, the nearest competitors. Corresponding scores for groups C and D were 3.2 and 1.8, respectively. All but 9 per cent of Group A operators were members of at least one formal social group other than a church-affiliated one. For groups B, C, and D, the proportions who were not members of any such groups were 12 per cent, 32 per cent, and 44 per cent, respectively.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Consideration of socio-economic status differences is especially important in studies of this kind because of attendant social, economic, and psychological characteristics which may serve as barriers to the diffusion of farm information on a person-to-person basis, and thus to the adoption of improved farm practices. Such differentials may be inferred either from the degree to

⁴ Although the sacred-secular classification scheme here used is essentially a church-nonchurch one, the writer does not intend to imply that church and sacred are to be regarded as synonymous. It so happens, however, that church-affiliated organizations seem to be the only formal social groups in the community that could be properly classified as sacred.

which personal achievement conforms to existing expectations and standards of achievement or from the possession of institutionalized symbols of status, or in both ways. Status evaluations based on the latter have been referred to as "mass society" ratings.⁵ They are highly formal and stereotyped in nature and are not influenced by personal achievement. They represent something of a societal consensus concerning abstracted societal forms or statuses, without regard to the particular individual who may be playing the role. Community rank, on the other hand, is based on a wide variety of factors including personal achievement, evaluations of the mass society, and organizational statuses; all of these factors are evaluated in terms of localistic standards in arriving at community rank. The so-called "community prestige ratings," which several other researchers have used, are of this type.⁶

SYMBOLS OF MASS SOCIETY STATUS

Tenure Status.—Farm tenure is a widely recognized symbol of mass society status and one in which Group A operators excelled group B, C, and D operators. All Group A farmers owned their farms; the proportions for groups B, C, and D were 88, 79, and 73 per cent, respectively.

Size of Operations.—Group A operators were residing on farms which were distinctly larger than the average for the community. Farms of Group A operators averaged 380 acres, compared

with 229 for Group B operators and 203 and 178 acres for groups C and D, respectively. Seven of the Group A operators were operating farms of 500 acres or more. Only 3 operated farms of less than 178 acres, the average for Group D. Their large farm operations were further reflected in their average gross income derived from the sale of farm products. Group A operators had an average gross farm income well above \$8,000 per year. Group B operators averaged \$4,455 per year; Group C, \$3,286 per year; and Group D, \$2,500 per year. All Group A operators—except one who was in a partial state of retirement—had gross incomes of more than the community average. Over two-thirds of them reported gross incomes of \$8,000 or more.

Subscription to Newspapers and Magazines.—The number of newspapers and magazines subscribed to is sometimes considered a symbol of mass society status. The only significant difference with respect to the proportion of operators subscribing to a local newspaper was between Group A operators and the other three groups. All of the Group A operators subscribed to a local newspaper, compared with about 86 per cent of those in groups B, C, and D. The situation was essentially the same with respect to the proportion taking one or more other weekly newspapers—96 per cent of the Group A operators took at least one such periodical compared with between 82 and 85 per cent of those in groups B, C, and D. However, the situation was quite different with respect to the proportion subscribing to a daily newspaper and the number of farm magazine subscriptions per household. Ninety-one per cent of the Group A operators subscribed to a daily paper. Comparable proportions for groups B, C, and D operators were 65, 61, and 52 per cent, respectively. Group A operators subscribed to an average of 6.5 farm

⁵ Herbert F. Lionberger, "The Diffusion of Farm and Home Information as an Area of Sociological Research," *Rural Sociology*, XVII (June, 1952), pp. 132-140.

⁶ Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Cornell University AES Memoir 260, Ithaca, N. Y. (1944).

O. D. Duncan, Jr. and Jay W. Artis, *Social Stratification in a Pennsylvania Rural Community*, Pennsylvania AES Bull. 543, State College, Pa. (Oct., 1951).

journals, which was distinctly greater than the number of subscriptions of other groups. Comparable figures for groups B, C, and D were 4.1, 3.6, and 2.3, respectively.

Exercise of Administrative and Advisory Responsibility through Formal Social Groups.—Another institutionalized criterion of mass society status is found in the distribution of positions of influence and prestige in formal social groups. Although status differentials are manifest in the accordance of roles, duties, and privileges in all formal groups, those specifically constituted for the utilization of administrative and advisory talent occupy a distinctive place in this respect. It is perhaps a universal practice in democratic societies to pick persons trusted for their ability, judgment, and integrity to administer democratically conceived programs and agencies. Election by one's associates to positions of responsibility at the administrative or policy-forming level is an unmistakable act of deference. An administrative social participation rating was therefore introduced as one symbol of mass society status.

Approximately 60 per cent of the Group A operators were serving on at least one administrative or advisory board or commission, whereas only 11 per cent of the operators in Group D had been elected to such positions of trust. Comparable proportions for group B and C operators were 30 and 14 per cent, respectively. Group A operators, who had an average participation score of 10, were in a class to themselves. Comparable scores for all other groups were less than one. Thus, Group A operators were much more frequently accorded positions of responsibility in formal organizations specifically designed to utilize administrative and advisory talent than were farm operators less sought as sources of farm information.

Other Institutionalized Symbols of Status.—Farm operator households were quite universally in possession of a number of items and facilities commonly regarded as symbols of mass society status. All Group A operators had electricity in their homes. About 95 per cent of group B and C operators likewise possessed this convenience. All Group A operators had telephones, radios, and automobiles; and all but one owned a tractor. About 94 per cent of the operators in groups B and C had telephones in their homes; however, only 80 per cent of those in Group D possessed this convenience. No less than 95 per cent of any group owned radios; no less than 87 per cent of any group owned automobiles; and no less than 70 per cent owned tractors. The proportions of group B and C operators owning tractors were 88 and 83, respectively.

The general state of material well-being was not so universal with respect to certain other conveniences often regarded as symbols of mass society status. Seventy-seven per cent of the Group A operators had running water in their homes, while no more than 30 per cent of any other group possessed this convenience. Only 17 per cent of the Group D operators had running water. Seventy-seven per cent of the Group A operators owned a truck. For groups B, C, and D, the proportions ranged from 21 to 34 per cent. Almost all Group A operators lived on all-weather roads, whereas only about three-fourths of the group B and C operators and approximately two-thirds of the Group D operators were so situated.

Although it was recognized that the Sewell Socio-Economic Status Scale⁷ would probably be of questionable use

⁷ William H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socio-Economic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology*, VIII:2 (June, 1943), pp. 161-170.

as a status-differentiating instrument in this particular community, it was nevertheless used as one possible measure of mass society status. Ratings obtained on this scale were quite universally high, and, as anticipated, very small differences between groups were in evidence. However, the scores for Group A operators averaged slightly higher than the scores for the other groups. The average for Group A was 84, while comparable figures for groups B, C, and D ranged from 77 to 80.

COMMUNITY PRESTIGE

The only measure of community prestige used in this study was a composite prestige rating provided by sixteen local judges who were willing to cooperate in supplying the needed information. Eleven of these persons were farm operators, and five were mature sons of local farm operators. As is often the case in studies where rating judges have been used, they were disproportionately representative of the middle and upper elements in the community. This is to be explained by a general reluctance on the part of low-prestige persons to cooperate in supplying prestige ratings. Each judge was accorded complete freedom in choosing the number of rating categories to be used. Ratings were then converted to standard scores and averaged.* The average rating for all operators was 4.1 on a 6-point standard scale ranging from 1.5 to 7.4, where the low numbers represent the high end of the prestige scale. The median rating for Group A operators was 3.0. Comparable ratings for groups B, C, and D operators were 3.8, 4.2, and 4.4, respectively. Only one Group A operator was rated below the median for all

farmers. Eighty-six per cent of the Group A operators were rated in the upper two prestige categories compared with only 14 per cent of the group C and D operators, and 27 per cent of those in Group B. On the other hand, no Group A operator was rated in the lowest two categories. In groups B, C, and D, 11.6, 12.6, and 16.8 per cent, respectively, were so rated.

TECHNOLOGICAL COMPETENCE

Except perhaps for considerations relating to ability to adopt new practices, the acid tests of technological competence as a farmer are actual use of recently introduced farm practices of demonstrated merit, and the time required for acceptance. On the basis of these measures, Group A operators generally exceeded the other three groups by a substantial margin: More Group A operators were using sodium-fluoride treatment for the control of worms in hogs; more were using Lardino clover in their pasture systems; more were applying commercial fertilizer according to test; more were using the newer varieties of oats and soybeans; more were using chemical sprays to control weeds; and more had terraced some of their land or were plowing on the contour. The contrast in this respect was particularly great between Group A operators and those in Group D, whom no one mentioned as a most frequently used source of farm information. (See Figure 2.) Only in the use of methoxychlor sprays for dairy cattle did Group A operators fail to exceed greatly the use rates of other groups. Although some operators were using commercial sprays which may have contained the new spray material, they were generally not conscious of its use. The percentage following this practice was very small in all groups.

Although Group A farmers were by no means always the first to adopt new farm practices, as a group they usually

* See C. Milton Coughenour, *Social Stratification in a Northeast Missouri Farming Community* (pp. 61-87), published by the University of Missouri (Aug., 1953), for a detailed description of the prestige-rating procedure.

had been using them longer than other farm operators. This held true for all of the above-mentioned practices except the use of Ladino clover and the application of commercial fertilizer ac-

cording to soil test. For these two practices, Group B operators took the first position.

As a composite measure of technological competence, use and time ele-

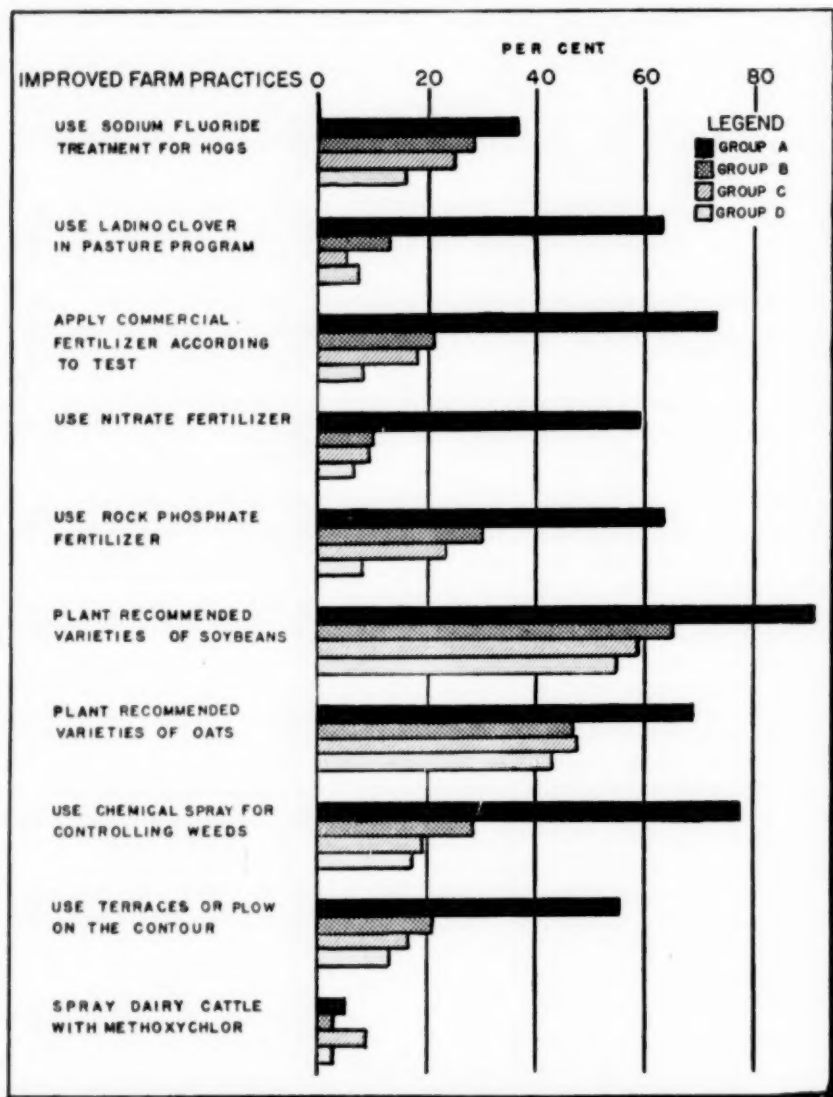


FIGURE 2. PROPORTIONS OF GROUP A, B, C, AND D FARM OPERATORS USING DESIGNATED IMPROVED FARM PRACTICES

ments were combined into an improved-practice rating. A composite score for each operator was computed on the basis of degree of compliance with the eight improved farm practices and the length of time he had been using them.⁹ Scores so computed placed Group A operators in a class distinctly to themselves. Their average score was 30.0, which was almost twice that of any of the other groups.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the community studied, there were farm operators to whom others deferred in their quest for farm information. Although those sought as sources were little different from other farm operators with respect to age, educational attainment, and length of farm experience they possessed many distinctive characteristics:

They operated larger farms and had higher farm incomes than their associates.

They were accorded higher prestige ratings than farmers who were not sought as personal sources of farm information.

They were more active in all types of formal social organizations and were more likely to be members of groups dedicated to civic and educational improvement than people less in demand as sources of farm information.

They were much more broadly oriented, socially, than other farmers. Consequently they were exposed to a wider variety of new ideas about farming than those who habitually stayed closer to home.

They were characterized by a higher order of technological competence as farmers, thereby rendering them eminently qualified to act as farm advisers.

Those who were mentioned by five or more farm operators as most frequently sought as personal sources of farm information (referred to as Group A operators in this paper) were so distinctly different from the others considered—with respect to characteristics related to the diffusion and use of farm information—that they may properly be regarded as local influentials. Their receptivity to new ideas about farming and their positions in the informal social structure of the community were such that they served as low-resistance avenues through which farm information was channeled to other farm operators who were relatively impervious to innovations in farming which had not been favorably demonstrated locally.

These findings are for a general farming area in northeast Missouri where conditions of farming are generally above the state average. The crucial question of whether they apply in other localities, where the general level of sophistication is lower and where other cultural conditions are known to be different, remains to be answered.

If variation in personal characteristics pertinent to farm practice acceptance-use is in evidence in other localities, the problem becomes one of defining the conditions under which the variation occurs. If research results are to eventuate in useful generalizations, efforts to define pertinent conditions must be directed to basic differences in cultural factors and not merely to locality differences. Ideally, these factors should be determined by multiple analysis of cultural elements of a social-psychological nature. In the absence of a thoroughgoing analysis of this kind, a simpler—though less adequate—classification such as provided by the sacred-secular construct may be useful.

It is conceivable that, under conditions where people are more bound by

⁹ Although this scale is not a highly refined instrument, it proved to be sufficiently definitive for the purpose for which it was used.

tradition than was the case in the community studied, local influentials may possess characteristics less favorable to technological changes in farming. If, indeed, local influentials are viewed as

preservers of local tradition, as well they may be where social change is looked upon with disfavor, their influence may even assume negative proportions.

DISPERSED SETTLEMENT AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

by E. H. Tropp†

ABSTRACT

From tribal times, the settlement pattern in Wales has been essentially a scattered one, consisting of isolated farms and small hamlets. The main unit of settlement is the *tyddyn*, a small holding usually less than 100 acres in extent. In the past, the settlements have been isolated only in a geographical sense; strong local bonds of community and kinship linked the dwellers of the *tyddynod*. This community structure has been preserved to a remarkable extent until recently, due to physical and cultural isolation.

Nowadays, however, rural Wales is in urgent need of improved housing, schools, communications, and a wide variety of modern amenities. It is obviously easier and more economical to bring these improvements to a countryside where settlements are nucleated; but it has been argued that to replace isolated by grouped settlements would be to disrupt social relationships to such a degree that the traditional basis of community would be seriously impaired.

The dispersed settlement pattern that lacks a village center on which local activities may be focused has been criticized by some rural sociologists. It has been said that "from the standpoint of the social and economic welfare of the population on the land it is one of the most vicious modes ever devised for dividing lands," and that it "has greatly handicapped the rural population of the United States for the past century and a half."¹

In order to mitigate this situation, it has been proposed that some form of "rural community" should be fostered, and detailed accounts of the processes involved in the creation of a

rural community have been made.² The development of community, it is said, is brought about by strengthening the bonds between the village and its surrounding farms. "The farmer needs the village and the village, in turn, existing because of the farmer's needs, needs him. The two, farm and village, form part of a whole."³ A widely accepted definition of community in the countryside has been made, in fact, in precisely these terms: "A rural community consists of the social interaction of the people and their institutions in a local area in which they live on dispersed farms and in a hamlet or village which forms the center of their common activities."⁴

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¹ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 267. See also Editor's introduction to W. A. Terpenning, *Village and Open Country Neighborhoods* (New York and London: Century Co., 1931).

² Cf., D. Sanderson and R. Polson, *Rural Community Organization* (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1939).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ D. Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (Boston, New York, etc.: Ginn & Co., 1932), p. 481.

The dispersed settlement plan has undoubtedly been of great economic advantage in the United States in facilitating the cultivation of large areas of land; but against this it has many disadvantages. "A geographically isolated person tends to resist social pressure, in fact until recently he was likely to have little contact with devices that would bring social pressure to bear upon him. There has generally been a paucity of social contact and of institutional relationships on the isolated farm."⁵

Yet, in other parts of the world, there are many areas where geographically isolated settlements have been associated with marked social cohesion. Such are the areas of the "Celtic fringe" of the west of Europe, notably in Brittany and the west of the British Isles. These are areas which long have been regarded as culturally distinct from the lowlands to the east of them.⁶ Over a period of hundreds of years, observers have remarked on the differences between the arrangement of settlements in these lands and those of the English plain. The famous comments of Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century, "they inhabit neither towns, villages nor castles, but lead a solitary life in the woods,"⁷ of Archbishop Peckham, two hundred years later, "ils ne habitent pas ensemble mes menit chescun loinz de autre,"⁸ of George Owen in the sixteenth century who spoke of the lack of "townredes

and villages,"⁹ and of John Leland who said that the inhabitants lived in dispersed farms, "non vicatim,"¹⁰—these are only a few of many such observations. In later times, Brittany, Wales, and Cornwall have been listed by Meitzen¹¹ as areas where "Einzelhöfe" (isolated farms) are recurrent; these areas fall, too, into Demangeon's classification of *dispersion primaire, d'âge ancien*.¹²

In this paper, a brief account of the settlement pattern as it has developed and now exists in Wales will be given and some of the present problems related thereto will be considered.

There are many reasons for the scattered settlement pattern, some of them related to the physical background (notably a plentiful water supply almost everywhere, which always encourages dispersion), and some related to economic conditions and the pastoral nature of much of the farming, with continuous enclosure from the wasteland. The details of the settlement pattern, however, result just as much from historical and cultural factors, so that a purely geographical "determinist" explanation will not suffice. One has to consider, too, the long separation of the western "highland" areas of Britain from the lowland areas of the south and east. Influences from the English plain came to the peninsulas of Wales and Cornwall only very slowly; and the west did not undergo to the same extent the series of cultural revolutions which took place in the east. In the west of the British Isles, there was a "continuity of cultural character"

⁵ Paul Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1940), pp. 28-29.

⁶ Sir Cyril Fox, *The Personality of Britain* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1947).

⁷ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wales* (London: Everyman Ed., 1935), p. 184.

⁸ A. W. Haddon and W. Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1869-1873), Vol. 1, p. 570.

⁹ George Owen, *The Description of Pembrokeshire* (London: ed., Henry Owen, 1892).

¹⁰ John Leland, *The Itinerary in Wales, 1536-1539*, Part VI (ed., L. T. Smith; London: George Bell and Sons, 1906).

¹¹ A. Meitzen, *Seidelung und Agrarwesen* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1895).

¹² A. Demangeon, "La Géographie de l'Habitat Rural," *Problèmes de Géographie Humaine* (Paris: A. Colin, 1947), p. 192.

where traditionalism was a most potent force.¹³ In rural Wales, we have, in fact, to look as far back as the tribal laws for the social forces which have molded the present settlement pattern.¹⁴

The general settlement pattern of tribal times consisted of isolated dwellings with occasional hamlets. There is clear evidence from the laws that the homes of the free classes, who probably accounted for more than half of the Welsh people, were not grouped together in villages. The homestead of the free tribesman consisted of a mud wattle hut with adjacent land of somewhat less than four acres in extent.¹⁵ This was the *tyddyn*, a family holding. As long as the head of the household lived, his descendants lived in the same house. When the father died, the land was divided equally among the sons. Apart from the home "close," the owner of the *tyddyn* usually had claim to scattered land (*gwasgardir*), which might include arable strips in an adjacent hamlet. The laws governing the holding and inheritance of land of the freemen all tended to perpetuate the isolated holdings. A number of scattered holdings (*tyddynod*) would be marked off inside the framework of a larger unit, the township (or *tref*) for the payment of dues. This unit can

be likened to the *mesne* manor of feudal society, or the parish in more recent times.¹⁶

The practice of transhumance (the movement of men and their animals to higher ground in the summer, and the building of separate summer and sometimes autumn houses), which continued in some areas into the nineteenth century, intensified the pattern of dispersion. In an economy which was not much affected by the economic changes which marked the English scene, or even by enclosures,¹⁷ stability rather than change was the rule. It is not surprising, consequently, to find that the same pattern of dispersion may be discerned centuries later and that the *tyddyn* is still the main unit of settlement in rural Wales today. It has, in fact, been called the "nucleus of the Welsh nation."¹⁸

The coming of Christianity to the west and the building of churches did nothing to counteract this dispersed settlement pattern—rather, the churches shunned existing settlements and were often built on sites where hermit saints had lived.¹⁹ The Celtic church fitted unobtrusively into the *tyddyn* pattern of dispersed settlements, in contrast with the south and east of Britain where the churches

¹³ Sir Cyril Fox, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ There were three separate codes containing the Welsh version of the old laws. These were the Venedotian Code of North Wales and the Dimetian and Gwentian Codes of South Wales; they were codified during the reign of Hywel Dda in the tenth century. Although there were later additions to these laws, the codes give a comprehensive picture of tribal organization. The Extents and Surveys made by the Normans in later years also furnish valuable evidence concerning Welsh tribal life—e.g., *The Black Book of St. David's*, a survey of the lands of the Bishop of St. David's made in 1326.

¹⁵ T. Gwynn Jones, "Social Life as Reflected in the Laws," *Aberystwyth Studies*, Vol. 9 (1928), p. 107.

¹⁶ T. Jones-Pierce, "Some Tendencies in the Agrarian History of Caernarvonshire during the Later Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, 1939.

¹⁷ The process of enclosure had been going on for such a considerable time in the west that the distress caused in other parts of the country was not felt to the same extent. The people in these regions "have been innoculated and are almost immune." R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912), p. 263.

¹⁸ Iorwerth Peate, *The Welsh House* (Liverpool: H. Evans and Sons, The Brythton Press, 1944).

¹⁹ E. G. Bowen, "Early Christianity in the British Isles," *Geography*, Vol. 17 (1932), p. 275.

were built inside the villages and towns and encouraged their growth. Even St. David's, the cathedral city of southwest Wales is still little more than a straggling village, around which lie the scattered *tyddynod* struggling for their existence against the windswept moors.

In England, rural community life has traditionally been associated with close settlement, where social activity is centered around the church, the inn, or the village green, rather than the cottage. In Wales, however, it is the long tradition of dispersed settlement based on kinship that has been associated with a very closely integrated community life. The scattered settlements are, in fact, isolated only in a geographical sense, and the hearth of each *tyddyn* is, according to Welsh custom, a center of social activity (in particular for the *noson lawen*, the social evening devoted to talk, singing, and telling of stories).

Whether the traditional balanced community associated with these isolated farms has already been broken down in many rural areas, it is difficult to say. Certainly, depopulation due to agricultural depression during the inter-war years has robbed the countryside of a dangerously high proportion of its young men and women, and English influence is now felt almost everywhere in rural Wales. Yet, we have evidence that highly developed neighborliness does exist—in many cases it can be described only as "family" feeling.²⁰ At harvest and shearing times, farmers and their families will often travel considerable distances to take part in some of the

most important social occasions of the year.²¹

If there is indeed a pronounced community feeling in these areas, the problems posed for the rural planners are quite formidable. How are the amenities associated with urban life, and now demanded by rural dwellers, to be brought to the countryside where isolation and dispersion are so common, without disruption of the delicate balance of community? At this point, it is advisable to look a little more closely at the problems which beset isolated settlements in these areas.

The farms are not only dispersed—they are also very small. In 1939, nearly three-fourths of Welsh holdings were between 5 and 100 acres in size.²² Wales is largely a land of owner-occupiers, and, in consequence, the proportion of agricultural laborers to farmers is relatively small. In England, the greater part of the farm work is done by hired employees, whereas in Wales it is performed more frequently by members of the occupier's family. The class of agricultural laborers in Wales, therefore, would consist very largely of the sons and daughters of the farmers, whereas in England the majority falling into this class would be wage earners.²³ There is no great gulf between employers and employees in Wales, since in many cases the

²¹ In Brittany, too, the same community spirit is apparent. *Des maisons détachées les unes des autres, construites séparément (dans certains localités bretonnes par exemple), ont cependant des rapports de voisinage et peuvent former un habitat groupé. Il faut tenir compte des facteurs psychologiques.* Barbara Aitken, "Comptes Rendus," *Union Géographique Internationale*, Vol. 3 (1931), p. 150.

²² The Council for Wales and Monmouthshire, *A Memorandum by the Council on Its Activities* (London: Her Majesty's S. O., Cmd. 8060, 1950), p. 12.

²³ W. H. Jones, "Rural Migration," *The Welsh Journal of Agriculture*, Vol. 12 (Jan., 1936), p. 19.

²⁰ E. G. Bowen, "Rural Settlements in South West Wales," *Geographical Teacher*, Vol. 13 (1925-26).

Emrys Jones, "Sheep Shearing in the Pumlumon Mountains," *Wales*, Vol. 19, No. 31 (Oct., 1939).

Alwyn Rees, *Life in a Welsh Countryside* (Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press, 1951), p. 91.

farmer himself will have begun work as a farm hand; the proportion of the employers and those working on their own account in the total number of persons engaged in agriculture is much greater in Wales than in England.²⁴ Life on the *tyddyn* is invariably arduous; the family works exceedingly long hours, if need be, for little financial gain, and the heir may remain a "boy" until he is over thirty and can come into his inheritance.²⁵

It is undoubtedly true that the small farm unit, especially on "marginal land," cannot provide a family with a reasonable living, since it cannot afford the overhead of expensive machinery, mechanical appliances, and soil improvement. For this reason, it has been suggested that holdings must be increased in size if they are to pay reasonable dividends so that the economic disadvantages of a scattered settlement pattern may be lessened. Although the employment of dispossessed farmers as managers would change the social make-up in these areas, there is a need for some degree of reorganization of holdings, especially in marginal land. The economic and social aspects of the problem of marginal land are intimately linked with the settlement pattern and the problem of inaccessibility. The difficulty of building and maintaining roads to isolated dwellings seems in many cases to be insuperable.²⁶ It is pointed out that much land in Cardiganshire would not be marginal if there were better access,

and this applies especially in the hilly districts where supplies of lime, manure, and fertilizers cannot reach many farms. It is obvious that roads and railroads must be improved if efficiency is to be increased, since many are in such poor condition that remote areas remain inaccessible.²⁷

Inaccessibility is one of the most important causes of the present deficiency of amenities, and a major factor in the depopulation of rural Wales. The principal deficiencies relate to piped water, sewage disposal, roads, transport, and electricity. Apart from these, lack of adequate medical services and telephone facilities are other factors retarding rehabilitation. Housing conditions are naturally not good where these amenities are lacking; moreover, there is great reluctance on the part of builders to construct houses in isolated areas.²⁸ The increased cost of building is a serious problem when roads are not well kept; obviously, it is easier to build houses in an easily approached compact settlement where accommodations can be found, if need be, for the building worker.

The difficulties of providing isolated settlements with amenities, as outlined above, can be appreciated quite readily. Beyond this, there is the question of what influence the settlement pattern has had on the provision and organization of schools in these rural areas. It is probably true that the existence of well-organized schools may make parents more likely to remain in remote areas; schools can, therefore, in certain circumstances, be regarded as social amenities. In the past, the rural

²⁴ A. W. Ashby and J. Morgan Jones, "Social Origin of Farmers in Wales," *Sociological Review*, Vol. 18 (Apr., 1926), p. 137.

²⁵ Cf., C. M. Arensburg and Solon T. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1940).

²⁶ The Panel on Marginal Land is "satisfied that the question of access is often a primary factor in the circumstances producing marginal conditions." The Council for Wales and Monmouthshire, *Memorandum*, op. cit., p. 15.

²⁷ "The main railway lines were built to converge on London and not to unify our scattered Welsh communities. The other railway lines meander endlessly round the country, leading nowhere, going nowhere." Parliamentary Debates, *Hansard*, Vol. 482 (Dec. 5, 1950), p. 218.

²⁸ Panel on Depopulation in Rural Areas, *Memorandum*, op. cit., p. 31.

school has been subject to many disadvantages. "Its poor situation and its lack of ordinary amenities such as piped water and sanitation, the inconvenient form of the buildings, poor lighting, and cumbersome furniture all created poor conditions."²⁹ Such poorly equipped schools were not likely to attract enterprising teachers, while the remoteness of the school and inadequate transportation discouraged both pupil and teacher alike. To counteract this disadvantage of remote position, there has been a growing tendency to transport children to centers where more modern educational facilities are available. This tendency has been criticized in recent years, however, on the grounds that the advantages gained from these better equipped schools must be weighed against "the serious harm involved to children through uprooting them from the homely atmosphere of their accustomed environment, the loss that a neighbourhood suffers by the closure of a cultural centre, and the heavy responsibilities of conveying young children long and tiring distances daily from an area where they feel secure and happy into an environment which is new and strange to them."³⁰ It has been suggested that it would be better to replace the dilapidated schools with new ones in the same locality rather than (in Welsh districts) to lose children to the "Englishness" of more populous areas.³¹ It would appear that the

charge of long, tiring journeys is certainly valid in many districts. However, if the rural school in remote position is to be retained, it will always be a matter of the greatest difficulty to persuade teachers to come and live nearby, even should accommodations be available and the number of classes and pupils be sufficient.

Since the settlement pattern of isolated farms and hamlets entails so many difficulties in the introduction of amenities, it has been suggested that when new houses are built, they should be arranged in groups or attached to already existing groups.³² In many parts of rural Wales where the older social life based on the system of mutual aid between neighbors has ceased to exist, this is the obvious solution to the problems associated with inaccessibility. But what of the areas where the older social life is still said to be strong? It has been argued that to build compact, nucleated settlements in such areas would be to disrupt the social framework; and to build community centers, Young Farmers' Clubs, Youth Clubs, etc., would be no worthwhile exchange for the neighborliness of the past. "It is difficult for the planners of housing schemes, in their eagerness to confer urban amenities upon country people, to appreciate that the whole pattern of social relationships in a diffused society becomes meaningless when settlement is concentrated. There is no need to offer hospitality to

²⁹ Panel on Depopulation in Rural Areas, *Memorandum*, op. cit., p. 43.

³⁰ *Education in Rural Wales*, Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 3 (Her Majesty's S. O., 1949).

³¹ "It is not according to the wishes of parents in the rural villages of Wales . . . that their children should leave these villages, already denuded enough, for the semi-urban areas, often English in environment, along bad roads and often in inclement weather." *Parliamentary Debates, Hansard*, Vol. 446 (Jan. 26, 1948), p. 742.

³² *Notes on the Siting of Houses in Country Districts*, Ministry of Town and Country Planning Pamphlet (Her Majesty's S. O., 1950). See also, *The Council for Wales and Monmouthshire, Second Memorandum*, Cmd. 8844 (July, 1953), p. 57: "In regard to the direction of development in its social and amenity aspect, the aim of a rehabilitated countryside would seem to imply encouragement of growth in existing villages so as to build up communities large enough to have a social life of their own. In many areas, moreover, this would be a necessary condition for ensuring the full benefit of improved services."

the man who lives next door."³³ It would certainly be an exceptionally difficult matter to disrupt a community structure and replace it artificially by another, if indeed this is involved when nucleated settlements are built.

One would first like to know, however, just how much remains of the traditional community structure in these areas. Have depopulation and

Anglicization already almost destroyed it? And has the excellent Welsh regional service of the B.B.C.—with its own *noson lawen*, its folk music, poetry, plays, sports, and religious services—already robbed the countryman of a large part of his need for the frequent traditional hospitality of the past? There is a need for field studies on the community and social participation in these areas before these questions can be resolved. Meanwhile, we can only point out the problem without providing a solution.

³³ H. Bowen Jones at the British Association meeting, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sept., 1949.

SUTLAND AND YONLAND SETTING FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN THE PLAINS*

by Carl F. Kraenzelt†

ABSTRACT

In the Great Plains there is a clustering of social and economic activity around two major situations—the *Sutland* and the *Yonland*—which give character and identity to adjacent parts. To understand social phenomena in the region, to plan and guide social activities and processes, it is necessary to consider these two situations.

In addition, because space is so great in the Plains, it represents a cost—a social cost. To keep this social cost within reason, it is necessary to have the *Sutland* and the *Yonland* function as separate entities for some things, but to have a high degree of interdependence in other things. To accomplish this, certain new institutional patterns and forms of social organization are emerging and must be improved upon.

There are two types of setting in which people live and communities function in the Great Plains—the *Sutland* and the *Yonland*. This distinction is basic to the understanding of population trends, community life, social organization, and institutional problems in the region. It opens the door to adaptations for successful living in this land of sparse population.

These are generic terms not now in popular use. In their place the Plainsman uses locality names for each such specific area, or a wave of the arm. This does not, therefore, tell the newcomer or the inquirer anything about the areas. These generic terms have the advantage of giving immediate meaning to the social and community life in any part of the region.

The *Sutland*, the Plains over, is the more densely settled, often stringlike area of habitation along the major avenues of transportation. Generally this includes the railroads, which are frequently paralleled by the major high-

*Part of a chapter for a proposed book on the Great Plains; listed as a paper (No. 297) of the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station.

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ways and bus routes, and by the public utilities such as telephone and telegraph lines, gas lines, and power distribution facilities. Here also are found the larger towns and cities and all that they imply—specialty and enlarged wholesaling and retailing, banking, shipping and processing for livestock and grain, storage, and specialization in hospital and medical-care facilities. Here, also, are located the advanced high-school facilities, the larger church centers, and the occasional colleges and universities. In addition, the governmental agencies, state and federal especially, tend to be located in this area. Sometimes, though not always, the Sutland includes the irrigated area.

In short, the Sutland is the location of the main arteries for the wholesaling, business, industrial, educational, health, governmental, and social functions in the region, plus the place of concentration for certain types of agricultural specialties. It is the home of the "sutler." Historically, the sutler was the supply agent at the army post before the day when the army maintained its own supply services. Such areas are, therefore, appropriately called the Sutland.

Away from the Sutland are the "in-between" areas, generally without the major transportation avenues and the public services and utilities found in the Sutland. The towns are smaller, as a rule, with more limited services and facilities. Sometimes they are simple service centers only, inland in character. Community facilities are less specialized and often less well developed. There is a real problem in getting adequate finances and sufficient people to support the services.

This is the Yonland of the Plains—the area "out yonder," out from the Sutland; the area without adequate services. It is not the hinterland, for all the Plains is a hinterland. It is not the inland, for all the Plains is inland. The "Outback," as used for the Aus-

tralian inland, comes nearest to the meaning of Yonland. But the Outback refers to a single large land mass. This is not the case in the Plains; here the Yonland represents smaller areas that are dispersed among the Sutland areas. The Outback, furthermore, is an arid land. The situation in the Plains is a semi-arid one, where there is considerable population distributed throughout the entire land.

Viewed in panoramic manner, the conditions characterizing the Sutland and the Yonland are seen to have a decided impact upon community and social organization, making a sort of constellation for each respective type. It is methodologically possible to place the Yonland at one extreme of a continuum and the Sutland at the other; yet, the probabilities are that such a use of these concepts would destroy their usefulness in describing what seem to be two basic situations in the Plains. It appears that there is a great measure of interdependence between the Yonland and the Sutland, with the promise of more such interdependence in the future. The relations of the two are dynamic rather than static. But these degrees of interdependence do not necessarily move the situation away from a Yonland or a Sutland character to some other point on a possible continuum. Therefore, a rigid set of identifying criteria for each would do violence to the usefulness of the concepts in understanding social organization. It is probable that different criteria, or different weightings of the same criteria, will be used to distinguish between the Yonland and the Sutland for different areas and different times.

SUTLAND AND YONLAND IN SOUTHEASTERN MONTANA

No attempt will be made to identify a set of final and infallible criteria for distinguishing between the Sutland and the Yonland. But an attempt was

made to isolate one from the other, experimentally, for an area in southeastern Montana (Figure 1). In this case, by the method of inspection, the land area along the Yellowstone River was taken as the Sutland base. All minor civil divisions with a third or more of their area under irrigation (1940) were considered Sutland, along with certain strategic dry-land areas adjacent to them. The Sutland was so selected that it had certain other characteristics known to be associated with its type—namely, greater population density, extensive communication and transportation facilities, and many and relatively large wholesaling and retailing establishments. Another consideration was to include as much of the irrigated area as was necessary to encompass about 30,000 rural population (on the basis of 1940 figures). For the Yonland, the experimental tabulation included adjacent dry-land areas (minor civil divisions with less than a

third of the acreage in irrigation or none at all) to the extent necessary to comprise about 30,000 rural population. Another criterion for the Sutland, not basic but incidental, was the objective of achieving a total population—urban and rural—of about 70,000. This number represents an approximation of the minimum needed to support certain essential services such as a full-time public health unit, an adequate public library, and a 300-bed hospital. The reason for starting this tabulation with the irrigated land as a base was the realization that, if the indirect goal of 70,000 persons were to be attained at all—within the confines of a reasonable space—only the irrigated Sutland area would suffice. It is obvious that such a population goal for the Yonland would be reached only by taking in tremendous amounts of territory.

The results of this procedure are

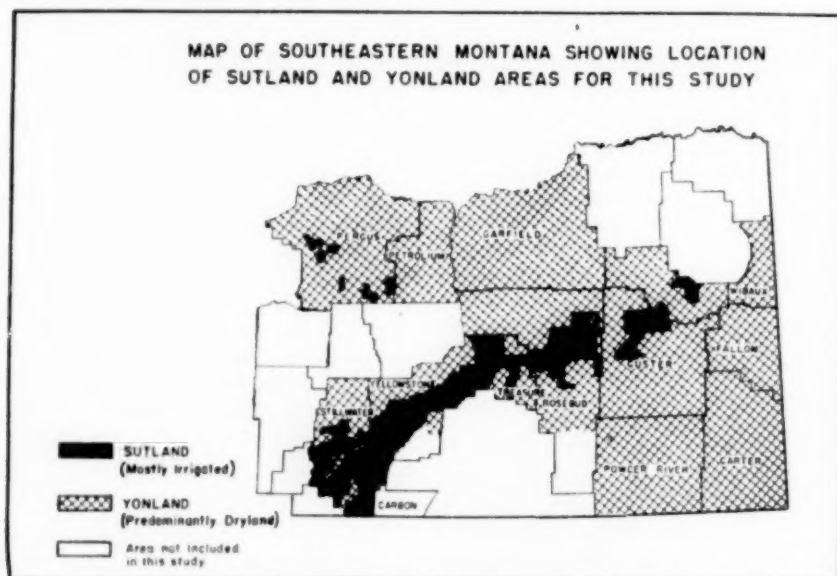


FIGURE 1.

TABLE 1. AREA AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF SUTLAND AND YONLAND PARTS OF A SAMPLE AREA IN MONTANA, 1930 AND 1940*

Characteristics	Sutland		Yonland	
	1930	1940	1930	1940
Area (in sq. mi.)	¹ 2,227	¹ 2,227	² 32,077	² 32,077
Rural population	24,215	29,083	42,582	29,834
Rural persons per sq. mi. of total area	10.9	13.1	1.3	0.9
Urban population	30,730	37,974	6,570	7,178
Urban persons per sq. mi. of total area	13.8	17.0	0.2	0.2
Total population	54,945	67,057	49,152	37,012
Persons per sq. mi.	24.7	30.1	1.5	1.2
Per cent urban	55.9	53.9	13.4	19.7

*Taken from the U. S. Census of Population data for minor civil divisions. Data for 1950 were not used because the minor civil divisions (school districts, in Montana) underwent so considerable a change in boundaries between 1940 and 1950 that comparisons were impossible. This was not so severe a problem for the period 1930-1940.

¹ This area is twice the size of Rhode Island, and includes the more densely populated portions of seven counties.

² This area is 31 times the size of Rhode Island—almost the equivalent of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire combined.

shown in Table 1 and Figure 1.¹ In 1940, the Sutland area had a rural population of 29,083 and an urban population of 37,974—or a total population of 67,057, just short of the 70,000 goal. To get this number of people, it was necessary to include the more densely populated portions of seven counties, covering an area of 2,227 square miles, twice the size of Rhode Island. This area had a density of 30.1 persons per square mile, as compared with 44.2 for the nation as a whole and 674.0 for Rhode Island. Since these 67,057 people resided in seven counties (and represented the largest proportion in six of the counties), it is apparent that their proportionate share of money spent for county government, schools, and all the public services and private businesses, if pooled, would support one set of institutional services much more efficiently and effectively than is

now the case. In short, these data imply that even in the Sutland area the residents are paying a high cost for their services. Even in the Sutland, space represents a high social cost.

For the Yonland, involving a very large segment of southeastern Montana, the tabulation included a land area sufficient to encompass 29,834 rural people, a reasonable approximation of the 30,000 goal. But this area included only 7,178 urban people, or a total of only 37,012 persons—about half the minimum total number (70,000) wanted. To get even this many people, it was necessary to include an area of 32,077 square miles. This is about 31 times the land area of Rhode Island, or the equivalent of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire combined. The density was only 1.2 persons per square mile, typical of much of the Plains. Only about 20 per cent of the population was urban. All of six counties and large portions of seven additional counties were included.

The tabulation shows certain changes between 1930 and 1940. In the Sutland,

¹ These data are from a special study by Carl F. Kraenzel, "Montana Population Changes, 1900 to 1950, Especially as to Numbers and Composition," to be published as a Montana Agricultural Experiment Station bulletin.

there was an increase in the total population during this decade, accounted for by increases in both the rural and the urban. In the Yonland, there was a striking decrease (25 per cent) in total population. Since the urban population increased, this decrease was all in the rural. The population change for the decade 1940-1950 was not determined.²

From this comparison it is clear that the social and community organization, population distribution, and economic and service organization in the Yonland are likely to be very different in type and extent from the corresponding features of the Sutland. Space represents a much higher cost in the Yonland than in the Sutland, though it is high there too. It is apparent that the Yonland is dependent upon the Sutland for many services. In turn, the Sutland is dependent upon the Yonland.

It is this independence of the two—because of space if not for other reasons—as well as their direct interdependence that makes it necessary to distinguish between the Sutland and the Yonland. This can be illustrated by reference to the school tax situation. In Montana, until very recently, elementary schools were supported by local school district and county funds, with only a minimum of state subsidy. Legislation has now gone into effect to have the state collect and distribute a much larger proportion of the funds for elementary education, and for very good reason. The Sutland has a much

richer local tax base than the Yonland; it is also a more stable one. For example, the Sutland generally includes the railroads and the public utilities in its property taxable for elementary and high-school purposes. But these public utilities are dependent on business from the Yonland also. The products of the Yonland are hauled to the Sutland for final shipment, handling, and storage. The fact that the Sutland is the receiving area for the Yonland products means that it has a windfall of storage, processing, and other business facilities that enter into the tax base there. By this very fact they are not available, for tax purposes, to the Yonland. For its tax base, the Yonland is largely dependent upon personal, real estate, and livestock property.

It is only fair that the Yonlanders have access to a portion of the tax revenue that is now monopolized and jealously guarded by the Sutland. Only through the device of tax assessment and collection on a state-wide basis can the Yonland realize its fair share of tax revenue from the economic activity cycle that originates there. The residents of the Sutland will not be happy in sharing their more favorable tax base with the Yonland, for they claim a vested interest. Very likely this windfall has now been capitalized and converted into artificially higher real estate and personal property values. But until the Sutland residents finally understand that they have a windfall, to be shared with the Yonland, the residents of the Yonland will continue to be deeply resentful of the Sutland. Sutland-Yonland relations will continue to be colored with distrust and conflict.

But a simple shift from a local to a state-wide tax base for certain public services, such as elementary schools, is not enough to bring about the necessary adjustment in public revenue between the Yonland and the Sutland.

² The change in minor civil division boundaries between 1940 and 1950 was so great that it was impossible to keep a common area for these two decades. This was a far less serious problem for the comparison of 1930 with 1940, though here, too, difficulties appeared. The reason for these difficulties lies in the fact that minor civil divisions for census reporting in Montana are not congressional or legal townships, but school districts whose boundaries have been increasingly subject to change.

Since personal, real estate, and livestock property are the major sources out of which public revenue is extracted for the Yonland, the assessment values are likely to be inflated and higher than is the case in the Sutland. Resorting to a state levy on these kinds of property would only result in a still greater burden for the Yonland residents. Because of the assessment inequity, it would cause a further flow of tax revenue to the Sutland, rather than the reverse. Before such a state levy can be effective in getting revenue from the Sutland to the Yonland, it will be necessary to have state-wide uniformity in property evaluation, assessment, and tax levy. (In a region of recurrent drought and fluctuating income, a state-wide income tax is not considered an effective substitute for a real estate and property tax. The latter, in the short run, does have the advantage of "squeezing blood out of a turnip.") Thus the interdependence between the Sutland and the Yonland becomes even more apparent.

In the face of independence, this interdependence between the Yonland and the Sutland is far more complex than implied by this simple illustration. It involves the relation of dry land to irrigated land in matters of farm and ranch unit organization, the relation of livestock grazing to a feed base, the extension of public health activities and medical and hospital services from the Sutland clinics and hospitals to the Yonland residents, and the relations of the Sutland church to the small congregations in the Yonland. These are only several additional illustrations to point up the need for social organization to bridge the gap between the Yonland and the Sutland communities of the future. It is a problem that attends the high social cost of space in the Plains.

SPACE AS A SOCIAL COST

The relative sparseness of population in both the Yonland and Sutland of the Plains has numerous implications for the institutional pattern and the social organization in the region. Space itself is a social cost. This has been well emphasized by A. H. Anderson, who worked out the relationship between cities of certain populations and the size of the trade areas attached to these cities in the Great Plains States.³ For cities of similar population, the trade area was found to be considerably larger in the Great Plains than in the humid area to the east of it. Also, there were considerably fewer cities in the Plains. His conclusion is that "communities spread over the larger areas are extremely tenuous, and their problems of organization obviously differ from those of the more compact communities."⁴

Anderson found that many of the Plains communities had a radius of as much as 44 miles or more, while in the more humid part of the eastern tier of Plains States most people were within 7 miles of an urban place. He concluded that these facts of population sparsity in the Great Plains must mean higher expenditures, so that space itself has become an overhead cost in the level of living. This, in his opinion, can be minimized by two types of adjustment, already partially underway—namely, "adaptation of services to sparse areas, and reorganization of the residence patterns."⁵ Unfortunately, Anderson did not distinguish between Sutland and Yonland communities in this respect. The contrast between the Yonland and the Sutland in geographic size of community might be expected to be as significant as that

³ See A. H. Anderson, "Space as a Social Cost," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXXII, No. 3 (Aug., 1950).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

between the Plains and the non-Plains.

It is not easy to measure the social cost of space, nor have the areas of life in which such costs may occur been identified. Many occur in the form of subsidies from local, state, and federal governments. Some appear as deferred public welfare costs that arise from inadequate rehabilitation services at an earlier period. The higher capital outlay and operating expense for rural electrification is a social cost, as is also some of the expense for Rural Free Delivery mail service and for road construction. Maintaining two dwellings for one household—one house on the ranch and one in town where the children attend school—represents a social cost for space which must be paid at a time when other family expenditures are also at their heaviest. Substitutes for the two-dwelling arrangement are costly school transportation expenditures or an allowance for room and board equivalent, also social costs of space. Lower quality of service, often eventuating in greater costs later, is a social cost and can be seen in the inadequate institutional facilities for religion and for hospital care in many areas of the region, and in the inadequate facilities for the aged, the mentally ill and retarded, the prisoners, and the juvenile offenders. The contrast between the Yonland and the Sutland in these social costs of space would also be revealing for community and social organization in the Plains.

Because of the numerous factors of quality of service that bear on social costs, and the non-availability of dependable secondary data to test the hypothesis, the measurement of social cost of space is only in the beginning stages. An elementary analysis in the area of school costs would seem to justify the statement that perhaps as much as 16 per cent of the variation in elementary and high-school costs can be attributed to distance alone—just

simple mileage.⁶ Should this hold true for buying and selling, for recreation, and for the numerous other items in the standard of living, the family living expenditures of the Plains resident would be considerably increased (or consumption decreased) by space cost alone, especially in the Yonland. In a drought year or series of years, this cost, if inflexible, might curtail severely expenditures for the remaining family living items. As factors in farm bankruptcy and mortgage foreclosure, the unadapted plow, farming methods, and size of farm of a former period may appear as minor elements in the potential bankruptcy of the level of living following a future drought, when contrasted with the inelastic space costs of modern services.

It would appear that a form of protection against such bankruptcy in levels of living (and purchasing power) for Plains residents might be achieved by the proper coordination and integration of services between the Sutland and the Yonland areas. Such integration appears necessary, not only with respect to resource management and the public-service tax base, but also with respect to actual coordination in the rendering of the services. The affiliation of a small Yonland hospital with a Sutland base hospital—and the medical, clinic, diagnostic, and nurse specialty advantages that can be obtained thereby—is a case in point. Such Yonland-Sutland integration is not unusual for individuals and their personal affairs—e.g., the rancher on the range who has a feed base in an irrigated area, often at con-

⁶The simple correlations involved were statistically significant, as were also some multiple correlations. Secondary data tend to be too crude for the refined measurements required, and a final test of this hypothesis will depend on obtaining primary data. This elementary analysis was made by the author on a county basis for 37 Plains counties of Montana.

siderable distance from the ranch headquarters. This integration needs to be developed at the group or social-organization and institutional level.

POPULATION ASPECTS

One aspect of the social cost of space in the Plains is the possible increase in these costs because of the threatened decrease in population, especially in the Yonland. This is apparent from the earlier tabulation (Table 1), which showed a decrease from 49,152 to 37,012 persons for the Yonland sample area between 1930 and 1940. Since there was an increase in urban population in this period, the decrease was entirely in the rural population. The central concern becomes one of how much population decrease in the Yonland can be tolerated, before the social costs become so high that a far-reaching change in population and social organization should be deliberately induced. It appears that the Plains area, especially the Yonland, is now or soon will be facing the following test of population-resource balance: When does the population decrease and the resulting higher per capita cost for services turn into a disadvantage because the social cost of space becomes so high that per capita gain is less a measure of welfare for the area than is total income? More people productively employed at a relatively low per capita income may produce a larger total area income than fewer people employed at a high per capita income; the social cost of the latter may be considerably higher.

What proportion of the Plains area finds itself at this crossroads point has not been determined. Three things are apparent, however—that some areas are at this crossroad; that this situation is more typical of the Yonland; and that a proper integration of the Yonland and the Sutland can postpone the arrival at this

crossroad, or can be the means for the social rehabilitation of an area that has arrived at this point. For such situations, the need is now one of public education, grass-roots invention of techniques, and finally, initiation of an action program.

In this connection, it is important to look at some of the population facts about the Great Plains.⁷ Unfortunately, the analysis cannot be made separately for the Yonland and the Sutland. The region proper contains a total of 586,461 square miles. This is about 20 per cent of the land area of the nation, and 53 per cent of the land area of the ten states that project into the region. While in their entirety the ten Plains States had 17 million residents in 1950, the Plains proper had but 5½ million (Table 2). The latter figure (Plains proper) represents an increase of about 715,000, or 14.9 per cent, since 1940, equaling the 14.5 per cent growth for the nation as a whole. The growth for the whole of the ten Plains States was 10.9 per cent; for the non-Plains part, it was 9.3 per cent.⁸

But this notable growth in the Plains proper was entirely in the urban population. The rural population decreased from 3.1 million to 2.8 million, or 10.4 per cent, while the urban population increased from 1.7 million to 2.7 million, or 61.1 per cent. In the non-Plains area, the rural population de-

⁷ The region is defined as the western portions of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, and the eastern portions of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. On the east, the boundary is roughly the 98th meridian; on the west, it is approximately the 4,500-foot elevation contour.

⁸ The non-Plains part of the Plains States consists of two strikingly different areas—(1) the mountainous portions of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico; and (2) the Red River, Corn Belt, and Mississippi-Gulf Cotton Belt areas in the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.

TABLE 2. POPULATION OF THE GREAT PLAINS STATES, BY PLAINS AND NON-PLAINS AREAS AND RURAL AND URBAN RESIDENCE,
1940 AND 1950 (in thousands)

State	1940						1950					
	Plains			Non-Plains			Plains			Non-Plains		
	Grand total	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
North Dakota...	641.9	398.1	59.2	338.9	243.8	72.7	171.1	378.9	76.4	302.5	88.4	152.3
South Dakota...	643.0	314.8	67.7	247.1	328.2	90.4	237.8	319.6	101.8	217.8	114.9	218.2
Nebraska	1,315.8	440.2	107.3	332.9	875.6	406.8	468.8	430.0	140.2	289.8	481.7	413.8
Kansas	1,801.0	317.7	59.3	258.4	1,483.3	694.6	788.7	333.5	98.5	235.0	894.8	677.0
Oklahoma	2,336.4	387.4	85.4	302.0	1,949.0	794.3	1,154.7	357.8	120.0	237.8	1,019.5	856.1
Texas	6,414.8	2,505.3	1,083.5	1,121.8	4,209.5	1,825.5	2,384.0	2,874.8	1,856.7	1,018.1	4,836.4	1,855.0
New Mexico ...	531.8	127.7	59.8	67.9	404.1	116.6	287.5	176.1	106.3	69.8	235.6	269.5
Colorado	1,123.3	200.4	46.5	153.9	922.9	544.3	378.6	208.3	55.1	153.2	776.3	340.5
Wyoming	250.7	107.2	33.0	74.2	143.5	60.6	82.9	120.1	55.3	64.8	89.3	81.1
Montana	559.5	309.8	97.5	212.3	249.7	114.0	135.7	325.1	126.6	198.5	131.4	134.5
All ten	15,618.2	4,808.6	1,699.2	3,109.4	10,809.6	4,719.8	6,089.8	5,524.2	2,736.9	2,787.3	6,813.3	4,998.0

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1940 and 1950.

creased 17.9 per cent and the urban increased 44.4 per cent. But the non-Plains area had a larger urban base—57.7 per cent of its 1950 population was urban, compared with 49.5 per cent in the Plains proper; in 1940, the corresponding figures were 43.6 per cent and 35.3 per cent.

There was considerable variation in population change by states. Seven states had an increase in Plains population between 1940 and 1950. These were Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, South Dakota, and Kansas. Of these, all but New Mexico had this increase in the urban population only. New Mexico increased in both the urban and the rural population. Oklahoma had a decrease in the Plains population, all of it in the rural.

Since the urban population of the Plains is predominantly in the Sutland, it is the Yonland that has been losing people. This is evidence that unless there are urban centers of sufficient size, with favorable economic opportunities, the Plains cannot be expected to hold much more population. This is especially true of the Yonland.

To point up the likely population trends in the Great Plains region, a special tabulation was undertaken for Montana. The object was to determine, for a sample area of the region, the trend of true population growth and the resultant change in population composition.

It was assumed that the census for 1920 offered a reasonable starting point from which to project population estimates for Montana, as if the state were a self-contained unit, unaffected by migration. By applying the current death and fertility rates to the base population of 1920, expected populations were computed for 1930, 1940, and 1950. These estimated populations were then compared with the census counts. The comparison gave a difference in number, age and sex composition, and rural-urban distribution.

Since current fertility and death rates were used, only one factor could account for the difference in number and composition of the population: population mobility in its direct and indirect impacts.

Conclusions from this study are as follows.⁹ Montana's total population, based on the expansion of the 1920 base, could easily have been 50 per cent higher in 1950 than the census enumeration, had there been no in- and out-migration. For the Plains part of the state, and especially for the Yonland, this increase would have been nearer 80 per cent, most of it in the rural areas. The difference between the actual and the expected figures is due to out-migration of former residents and their potential children. This mobility had affected all age groups, but especially the older ages and the child population. The youth group had been less affected than commonly assumed. The impact was also greater on women than on men, and on the rural than on the urban population. In fact, the urban population in both the Sutland and the Yonland gained from such migration. The impact on these groups was different in the Plains part of the state than in the mountain part, being frequently less intense and in the reverse order in the mountain area.

To test the applicability of the Montana findings, parts of the tabulation were extended to include the Dakotas, Nebraska, Colorado, and Wyoming. The situation for the Plains part of Montana was found to be generally typical of what was true for these other states, the major difference being that Montana led in these trends by about a decade.

It seems probable, then, that the Plains—especially in the Yonland and the rural areas generally—will experience difficulty in maintaining future

⁹ See Carl F. Kraenzel, *op. cit.*

population numbers. This will intensify the problem of social organization for the Yonland, as well as for the Sutland. It will fall upon the people in the Sutland to extend more of their services into the Yonland if the people there are to have the basic services essential to health and education. If it appears desirable to maintain present population numbers in the Plains, or to increase numbers, it will be necessary to provide economic opportunities, so that the youth can remain in the region. These opportunities will most likely be in industrial and service jobs in towns and cities of the Sutland.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN THE PLAINS

It is necessary now to consider the relationship of community life and organization to this pattern of population sparsity in the Plains, especially in the Yonland. The data for this analysis come from a study of community organization in Sweet Grass County, in the range-livestock area of Montana.¹⁰ To note the contrast in social organization between a sparsely populated area such as this county and a more humid area, the reader is referred to a similar study of Goodhue County, Minnesota.¹¹

Although Sweet Grass County is in the Sutland and is tributary to the Billings urban area, it is sparsely populated (3,621 people, or a density of 2 persons per square mile). As one moves outward from the central Sutland part of the county, he quickly

finds himself in a Yonland situation. Therefore, some of the conditions in Sweet Grass County are representative also of the Yonland. From this study it is apparent that group life and social organization are vitally affected by sparsity of population, extensive geographic distances, high mobility of the population, and low participation because of distance.

It was found that traditional community life is so indefinite and weak that the expression "locality grouping" appeared preferable to the traditional expression "community." Many of the services to people were supplied by agencies and associations of the governmental and special-interest type, and depended more upon the formal functionary than on group action as such. The "community," in the voluntary and nonlegal sense, could seldom command the resources and manpower to perform the necessary tasks. The area of service for the major activities was generally county-wide, even for informal organizations; and a number of important "community" functions were performed by the county. The evidence appeared to suggest that the county, as a political and service unit, may come closer to being the "community" than any other area or grouping of people within its boundaries.

In spite of the recency of their settlement, the Sutland areas were once characterized by strong neighborhood and community organization, due no doubt to past tradition and to nationality, topographical, and historical influences. Among the historical influences was heavy initial concentration of population, in the expectation that the region could support nearly as dense a population as the more humid parts of the nation. Some of these more compactly settled parts still have considerable traditional social organi-

¹⁰ See Frank Alexander and Carl F. Kraenzel, *Rural Social Organization of Sweet Grass County, Montana, with Attention to the Sutland Characteristics*, Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, Bozeman, awaiting publication as Bull. No. 490 (1953).

¹¹ Frank Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *Rural Social Organization in Goodhue County, Minnesota*, Univ. of Minn., St. Paul, Minn., AES Bull. No. 401 (1949).

zation of the neighborhood and community type.¹²

In between these is the Yonland, where community organization is more tenuous and in transition, and where there is considerable dependence upon Sutland centers for services. It is here that many people lead relatively isolated lives, at best dominated only by locality group organization. Occasionally, however, there are strong traditional communities in the Yonland, especially if the centers happen to be county-seat towns.

Despite the prevalence of the formal agency type of social organization in Sweet Grass County, and the large territorial coverage, it appeared that personal, face-to-face contacts formed the basis for much association, even in formal groups. But the functionary, especially the county agent and his helpers, had to stand ready to keep social organization active.

Figure 2 is a schematic approximation of social organization trends in the Great Plains at present. The data on which this is based come primarily from general observation, but to some extent from formal research.¹³ Important characteristics of social organization in the Great Plains include the following: (a) Striking changes, occasioned by mechanization and use of

modern transportation. One of these changes is (b) a considerable increase in the area of service and association, even for informal group activity. This may tend to overcome, to some extent, the problem of having insufficient numbers of people to participate in and support each activity. In rural areas, there is also a change (c) from social organization that is centered in the open country or hamlet to town- and city-centered social organization, in which the hamlet or the village are only a minor and "accidental" link. However, the county-seat village may be an exception and remain a center of social organization even though small. This kind of change is occurring both in the Sutland and the Yonland. The smaller places tend to remain as locality centers for association on the informal level, but only infrequently can they promote a "community" project.

Finally, in a sparsely populated territory, increased size of area alone is not enough to make it possible to have effective social organization. This is especially true since the presence of both town and country interests—as well as the greater space itself—tends to introduce a greater variety of activities. Therefore, social organization in the Great Plains tends (d) to take on a formal and legal emphasis. As areas of service and association increase, county boundaries are soon reached, and then the possibility of having formalized and legal county services in place of informal group services becomes a real factor in the choice to be made by the inhabitants. The decision to perform the function tends to fall ultimately into legal and public channels, and the activity to be carried out by such legally constituted political units as school districts, irrigation districts, weed-control and soil-conservation districts, or the county itself.

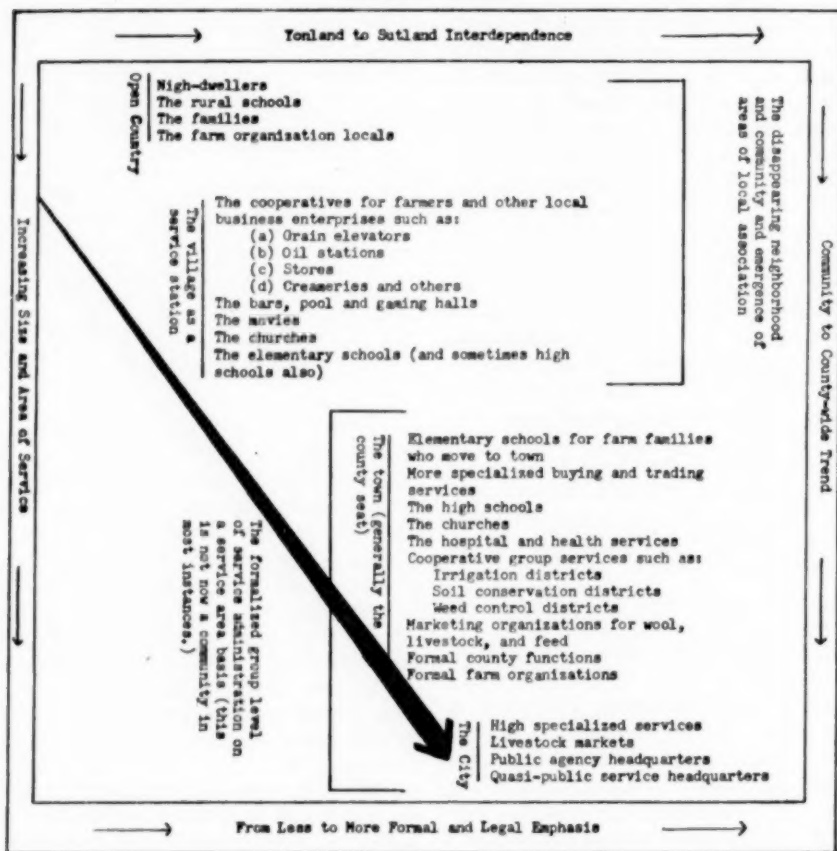
Many traditionally organized counties, patterned on ideas from the hu-

¹² A. H. Anderson pointed out that the ten Plains States (including the humid and mountainous areas along with the Plains proper) had 11,960 villages, towns, and cities. Of this total, 9,841 had less than 500 residents, and 4,504 had 50 or fewer residents. (Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 420 f.)

For descriptions of some aspects of social living and organization in the Plains, see Carl C. Taylor *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States* (Alfred Knopf, 1949), chaps. 19, 20, 22, and 23.

¹³ The following sources were used: C. C. Taylor *et al.*, *ibid.*; A. H. Anderson and Glen V. Vergeront, *Rural Communities and Organizations*, North Dakota AES Bull. No. 351 (1948); Frank Alexander and Carl F. Kraenzel, *op. cit.*; A. H. Anderson, *op. cit.*

FIGURE 2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION TRENDS FOR RURAL PEOPLE IN THE GREAT PLAINS



mid area, are too small in size, population numbers, and tax-paying ability to provide some of the necessary services by themselves. Therefore, multi-county services or county and school district services with state support are immediately in prospect.¹⁴ This cre-

ates some real tensions and problems in social organization, in town-country relations, and in intertown cooperation.

The open-country schools and the locals of farm organizations are in a critical situation in the Plains region. Supported only by family life and by associations between nigh-dwellers (not neighbors) in many areas, their

small school units. Certain activities, such as grazing districts, are already on a multi-county basis. Other states in the region are faced with similar problems of coordinating or consolidating school districts or counties. Perhaps a state-aid program can be a substitute for consolidation.

¹⁴In 1945, the Montana Legislature passed a law making it possible for several counties to join in supporting public health services. The 1947 Legislature provided legislation for districting the state for a coordinated hospital service program. The school reorganization program in Montana in 1947 and 1949 was faced with this same problem of getting state aid to the

survival cannot be anticipated unless there is a militant effort directed at community and social reorganization. Farm and ranch people themselves contribute to the breakdown of these locality services in the open country. Many move to towns and cities for the education of their children in both elementary and high schools. An increasing number move to town for year-round residence, and commute to their farm and ranch quarters. These people often vote for inadequate support of schools and other public services in their own locality. They find it inconvenient to attend meetings of the farm locals in the open country. Mechanization and the premium on timely farm operations minimize the role of neighborliness. Thus, the open-country social life is characterized increasingly by nigh-dwelling rather than by neighborliness.

The small village, once the center for community life, has often become merely a service station. In it may be located the cooperative enterprises of the farmers, such as elevators, oil stations, creameries, cotton gins, and other services. Here, too, are found a limited number of private business services, perhaps the consolidated elementary school, and sometimes a small high school. Here also may be the pastorless church. But chief of all, here are the bars and the pool and gaming halls. These are the loitering places in which is found the nearest substitute for neighborliness among the nigh-dwellers of the open country. Here farm workers, migrant laborers, livestock and grain truckers, custom contractors, and farm operators gather to transact business and to meet people.

But the formal organizations, the group activities once performed by the community, are centered in the larger town—usually the county seat. Here are the high school, the hospital, the formal county services, and the formal

headquarters for the marketing of wool, livestock, and feed commodities. Here also are the county agent, the production credit association, the bank, and the Production and Marketing Administration headquarters. Here can be found the officers and the technical services for irrigation, weed-control, and soil-conservation districts. In addition, the specialty services and shopping facilities are available here.

Whether these larger county-seat towns are to be the community centers of the future and the entire county is to become the area of the community is still to be tested by time. It appears that many voluntary services, once performed by the community, have been delegated to formalized and legally constituted agencies. Perhaps that is the result of sparsity of population, great distances, and the fact of minority-group living in the region.

This trend toward the weakening and the reshaping of traditional social organization in the Plains is not unrelated to the existence of the Yonland as contrasted with the Sutland or to the absence of social organization to bridge the gap that now exists between the two.

SUMMARY

Sparsity of population and the trend toward further population decrease in the rural areas has undermined the traditional humid-area type of community in the Plains. There is emerging, in the Plains, something new in social organization. There appears to be an emphasis upon formal and legal organization, so as to encompass the larger areas that are necessary in order to command the resources and the population base necessary to provide certain services. The functionary (paid official) appears to be essential to the functioning of a program if the organization is to survive and perform a task. The situation is strikingly more critical for the Yonland than for the Sutland.

There seems to be a need for treating the Sutland as an area separate from the Yonland, if for no other reason than distance itself. But there is also a need for integrating the Sutland and the Yonland, and a need for a proper division of labor for many services. Certain services must be made to reach out from the Sutland to the Yonland in mutually accommodating form. For other services, there must be an adapted counterpart in the Yonland that is properly integrated with Sutland headquarters. Undergirding all these interdependent Sutland-Yonland services must be an equitable way of financing the programs.

To accomplish all this it is necessary to have social organization not just for

the Yonland and for the Sutland, but social organization to tie the two together. Since the great distances in the Plains make for tenuous participation, the formal organization and the formal functionary have a definite place in Sutland-Yonland relations. At the core of this entire problem of social organization, whether in the Sutland or in the Yonland, is the need for adequate economic opportunity on the farms and ranches and in the towns and cities—the need to have and to hold people who can earn and participate, so that the social costs of space may remain in reasonable balance with the economic costs of goods and services.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH ATTITUDE TOWARD HIGH-SCHOOL EDUCATION IN RURAL WISCONSIN*

by W. H. Sewell,[†] D. G. Marshall,[†] A. O. Haller,[†]
and W. A. DeHart^{††}

ABSTRACT

This study reports the analysis of the relationship between ten independent variables and attitude toward high-school education. Seven factors were significantly associated with attitude toward high-school education. These were educational attainment, socio-economic status, ethnic background, sex, occupational status, size of farm, and age.

A more detailed test of the association of the three independent variables most highly associated with attitude toward education was then undertaken. The most important conclusion is that the total associations hold only under specific conditions. Socio-economic status is associated with attitude toward high-school education within three of four samples: Continental Europeans of high educational attainment, Continental Europeans of low educational attainment, and Anglo-Americans of low educational attainment. Educational attainment is associated with attitude toward high-school education only among Continental Europeans of high socio-economic status, and ethnic background only among persons of high socio-economic status who have not attended high school.

INTRODUCTION

In a previous article, a correlation analysis of the association between eight independent variables and school attendance of farm youth 16-17 years of age in 1940 was presented.¹ The data were on a county basis and to some degree the analysis was limited by this fact. The results of that study indicated that, while several of the variables tested were related to school attendance, nationality background was the most important single variable influencing school attendance. Even this variable was not sufficiently related to explain as much as half of the observed variance in high-school attendance.

*This paper reports one phase of a study of rural education directed by D. G. Marshall and W. H. Sewell and supported by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin. The writers wish to acknowledge the computational assistance of the Numerical Analysis Laboratory, University of Wisconsin.

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¹D. G. Marshall, W. H. Sewell, and A. O. Haller, "Factors Associated with High-School Attendance of Wisconsin Farm Youth," *Rural Sociology*, XVIII:3 (Sept., 1953), pp. 257-260.

The study reported in the present paper extends this analysis by testing the association between similar independent variables—as well as some independent variables not previously included—and the attitude of Wisconsin farm people toward high-school education. After the association between each of the independent variables and attitude toward high-school education is shown, a controlled analysis is presented in which the association between each of the three most highly associated independent variables and attitude toward high-school education is tested by controlling the influence of the two remaining independent variables.

The data upon which this study is based were obtained in 1949 by means of interviews with one adult in each of 400 randomly selected open-country families from four Wisconsin high-school-attendance areas.² The areas were selected on the basis of ethnic

²The four communities are Denmark (90 schedules); Montello (103 schedules); Princeton (60 schedules); and Wautoma (145 schedules). In the analysis of the data, the schedules were pooled since no significant difference was found between communities, in attitude toward high-school education.

composition and predominance and type of agriculture. The interviewing was done by trained interviewers using a survey schedule designed to obtain attitude of rural people toward high-school education and related matters.

Attitude toward high-school education was inferred from answers to a series of four questions relating to the opinion of the respondent regarding the desirability of a high-school education for his own and other rural children. Those who expressed the opinion that their own sons and daughters and other farm boys and girls should obtain at least a high-school education were classified as having a favorable attitude toward high-school education; all others were classified as having an unfavorable attitude. This dichotomous classification of attitude toward high-school education is used as the dependent variable throughout the analysis which follows. The ten independent variables, measured by material from the interviews, were as follows: (1) educational attainment, (2) ethnic background, (3) number of milk cows per farm, (4) size of farm, (5) distance from nearest high school, (6) occupation of head of household, (7) socio-economic status scale scores, (8) tenure status, (9) age, and (10) sex.

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND ATTITUDE TOWARD HIGH-SCHOOL EDUCATION

The chi-square test was used in the analysis of the association between each of the independent variables and attitude toward high-school education. If the chi-square value proved to be statistically significant at the 5 per cent level, the degree of association was measured by the corrected coefficient of contingency, C^3 .

³ Thomas C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941), p. 207.

The relationship between each of the ten independent variables and attitude toward high-school education is shown in Table 1. The first independent variable considered is the educational attainment of the respondents. When compared with attitude toward high-school education, a significant difference is noted. Persons who have attended high school are much more likely to be favorable toward high-school education than are those persons who have not attended high school. The degree of association, as measured by the coefficient of contingency, is the highest found for the variables tested.

The relationship between ethnic background and attitude toward high-school education is tested by data presented in the second comparison shown in Table 1. The chi-square is significantly large, indicating that ethnic background is associated with attitude toward high-school education. Anglo-Americans are more favorable toward high-school education than are persons of mixed ethnic backgrounds or Continental Europeans. The degree of association as measured by C is the third highest found in the analysis.

The third test concerns the relationship between the number of milk cows per farm and attitude toward high-school education. As Table 1 indicates, there is no significant association.

The association between distance from nearest high school and attitude toward high-school education is not significant, as shown by the fourth comparison in Table 1.

The latter two variables, number of milk cows and distance from nearest high school, are crude indicators of work-time requirements. Since neither of these is significantly associated with attitude toward high-school education, it may be tentatively concluded that work-time requirements are not important factors in attitude toward high-school education, although it is

possible that more refined indexes might show a greater relationship.

The fifth comparison is between occupation of household head and attitude toward high-school education.

The association between these two var-

TABLE 1. ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND ATTITUDE TOWARD HIGH-SCHOOL EDUCATION

Independent variable	Number of cases	Per cent favorable	Per cent unfavorable	\bar{X}	P	\bar{O}
1. Educational attainment:	399			47.3	<.001	.52
Attended high school.....	141	93	7			
Did not attend high school.....	258	57	43			
2. Ethnic background:	399			23.6	<.001	.38
Anglo-American	67	88	12			
Mixed	98	81	19			
Continental European.....	234	62	38			
3. Number of milk cows:	342			0.1	ns*
1- 9	103	68	32			
10-19	199	69	31			
20 or more.....	40	68	32			
4. Distance from nearest high school:	398			0.4	ns*
0-3.9 miles.....	111	72	28			
4.0-5.9 miles.....	99	72	28			
6.0 or more miles.....	188	69	31			
5. Occupation of head of household:	396			9.0	<.02	.22
Farm and white-collar.....	18	100	0			
Farm and blue-collar.....	43	77	23			
Farm only	334	69	31			
6. Socio-economic status score:	399			40.2	<.001	.44
71 or more.....	136	88	12			
61-70	186	68	32			
60 or less.....	77	48	52			
7. Tenure status:	388			3.3	ns*
Owner	328	68	32			
Tenant	60	80	20			
8. Size of farm:	336			8.6	<.02	.22
150 or more acres.....	61	85	15			
75-149 acres.....	204	68	32			
0- 74 acres.....	121	64	36			
9. Age:	399			6.5	<.02	.20
39 years or less.....	163	77	23			
40 years or more.....	236	66	34			
10. Sex:	400			9.4	<.01	.24
Female	248	76	24			
Male	152	62	38			

*ns = not significant at .05 level.

lables is statistically significant (Table 1). Those who live on farms but work full time in white- or blue-collar occupations and those who combine these occupations with farming are more favorable toward high-school education than are those who farm exclusively. However, the coefficient of contingency is quite low.

The sixth comparison concerns socioeconomic status scale scores and attitude toward high-school education.⁴ From the evidence in Table 1, it is clear that there is a significant positive association between socioeconomic status and attitude toward high-school education; each of the successively higher socio-economic status groups is significantly more favorable to high-school education than the ones below them in status. The over-all association as measured by the coefficient of contingency is the second highest found for the ten independent variables.

The seventh comparison involves the association between tenure status and attitude toward high-school education. As Table 1 indicates there is no significant association.

The eighth comparison is between size of farm and attitude toward high-school education. There is a low but significant relationship. Respondents living on large farms are clearly more favorable in their attitude toward education than those on smaller farms. However, those on small and medium-sized farms do not differ greatly in their attitudes. The coefficient of contingency is quite low.

Of the various indicators of socioeconomic status presented in Table 1 (variables 5-8), the one most highly related to attitude toward high-school education is clearly the socio-economic status scale score. Occupation and size

of farm are also significantly associated with attitude toward high-school education, but to a considerably lower degree.

The ninth comparison in Table 1 shows the relationship between the age of respondent and attitude toward high-school education. Age is dichotomized into those aged 40 and under and those over 40. The results indicate that there is a significant association; those in the younger age category are more favorable toward high-school education than those in the older age category. The degree of association, as measured by \bar{C} , is quite low.

As comparison ten indicates (Table 1), female respondents are significantly more favorable toward high-school education than are males. Nevertheless, the degree of association as indicated by \bar{C} is quite low.

CONTROLLED ANALYSIS

At best, the simple contingency measures and tests of independence which have been presented thus far in the analysis of the data are suggestive; without more rigorous analysis it is not possible to arrive at reliable conclusions about the relative importance of the contribution of the independent variables to the variation in the dependent variable, attitude toward high-school education. For this reason additional analysis was undertaken using a partial association technique.

Seven independent variables were shown to be associated significantly with attitude toward education when no controls were applied. Ideally, six of these variables should be controlled while allowing the dependent factor to vary with the seventh independent variable. In this study, however, such precision is not possible, due to the limitations imposed by sample size and correlation between the independent variables. Consequently, it was decided that only the three independent variables most highly associated with the

⁴William H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology*, VIII:2 (June, 1943), pp. 161-170.

dependent variable would be selected for controlled analysis.

Following the rationale given above, educational attainment, socio-economic status, and ethnic background were isolated for controlled analysis in which attitude toward high-school education was allowed to vary with each independent variable, holding both of the other independent factors constant. In order to do this, it was necessary to dichotomize educational attainment, socio-economic status, and ethnic background. Educational attainment was dichotomized as "high" (eight or more grades completed) and "low" (less than eight grades completed). Socio-economic status was divided into "low" and "high" categories, the former including those with scores of less than 65, the latter consisting of those with scores of 65 or more. The dichotomous classification of ethnic background was achieved by combining the "mixed" category with the Anglo-American category.

The schedules were then cross-classified by each of the three independent variables and the dependent variable. Twelve samples resulted from this cross-classification. Within each of these, the association between the independent and the dependent variable was tested. A chi-square formula for 2x2 tables, which includes Yates' correction for continuity, was used to test the association within each of these samples.⁵ The corrected coefficient of contingency C was used to measure the degree of association.

The results of this analysis are shown in Table 2. From this table the following conclusions are evident:

(1) Each of the three factors—socio-economic status, educational attainment, and ethnic background—is significantly associated with attitude to-

ward high-school education within at least one of the samples.

(2) Nevertheless, none of the independent variables is significantly associated with attitude toward high-school education within every sample. This evidently indicates that the total associations which were presented earlier hold only under certain conditions.

(3) Socio-economic status is associated with attitude toward high-school education in the following samples: (a) Anglo-Americans who have not attended high school, (b) Continental Europeans who have attended high school, (c) Continental Europeans who have not attended high school. Only in the group including persons of high educational attainment and Anglo-American background is there no significant association between socio-economic status and attitude toward high-school education. This is due to the fact that almost everyone (92 per cent) in this category is favorable to high-school education.

(4) Educational achievement of respondents is associated with attitude toward high-school education among Continental Europeans of high socio-economic status.

(5) Ethnic background is associated with attitude toward high-school education only among persons of high socio-economic status who have not attended high school.⁶

⁵ In a previous state-wide study by D. G. Marshall, W. H. Sewell, and A. O. Haller (op. cit.), a variable similar to ethnic background (nationality) was found to account for a large proportion of the variance in high-school attendance. The finding of the present study—that ethnic background is associated with attitude toward high-school education only under specific conditions—suggests that further controlled analysis of this factor will be necessary before a definitive statement can be made about its influence on high-school attendance and attitude toward education in rural Wisconsin.

⁶ Wilfred J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr., *Introduction to Statistical Analysis* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951), p. 189.

TABLE 2. ASSOCIATION OF ATTITUDE TOWARD HIGH-SCHOOL EDUCATION WITH SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, ETHNIC BACKGROUND, AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT CONTROLLED AND VARIED INDEPENDENTLY

Independent variable	Control categories	Subclasses of independent variable	Number of cases	Per cent favorable	Per cent unfavorable	I*	P	\bar{O}
1. Socio-economic status (N = 399)								
a. Anglo-American, high education.....		(1) High status	61	94	6	0.1	ns*
		(2) Low status	50	91	9			
b. Anglo-American, low education.....		(1) High status	52	87	13	4.4	<.05	.38
		(2) Low status	30	59	41			
c. Continental European, high education.....		(1) High status	81	94	6	3.8	**<.05	.41
		(2) Low status	77	50	50			
d. Continental European, low education.....		(1) High status	205	62	38	5.0	<.05	.24
		(2) Low status	105	49	51			
2. Educational attainment (N = 399)								
a. Anglo-American, high status.....		(1) High education	80	94	6	0.5	ns*
		(2) Low education	50	87	13			
b. Anglo-American, low status.....		(1) High education	33	91	9	2.1	ns*
		(2) Low education	11	59	49			

3. Ethnic background ($N = 399$)

c. Continental European, high status,	182	94	6	22.2	<.001	.51
(1) High education	77	62	38			
(2) Low education	105					
d. Continental European, low status,	104			0.2	ns*	
(1) High education	4	50	50			
(2) Low education	100	49	51			
a. High education, high status,	127	94	6	0.1	ns*	
(1) Anglo-American	50	94	6			
(2) Continental European	77	94	6			
b. High education, low status,	135			5.4	<.05	.28
(1) Anglo-American	30	87	13			
(2) Continental European	105	62	38			
c. Low education, high status,	15			1.0	ns*	
(1) Anglo-American	11	91	9			
(2) Continental European	4	50	50			
d. Low education, low status,	122			0.1	ns*	
(1) Anglo-American	22	59	41			
(2) Continental European	100	49	51			

ns = not significant at the .05 level.

*Due to the possibility of small cell frequencies producing a spuriously high χ^2 this probability was rechecked by Fisher's method of exact probability: $P < .05$. See R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers* (7th ed.; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1938), pp. 100-102.

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN GREECE

by Irwin T. Sanders†

ABSTRACT

This paper summarizes a series of thirteen Greek village studies, recently issued in mimeographed form in Athens. The studies were conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the American Mission (ECA). Information is given on the family and marriage, the church, the school, village government, economic organization, and formal and informal organization.

American rural sociologists should have a double interest in a series of thirteen Greek village studies which have recently appeared: ¹ first, because

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¹The studies were issued in Athens in mimeographed form, first in Greek and later in English. The first seven were under the direction of William J. Tudor and the last six under the advice of E. J. Kilpatrick. The Near East Foundation carried out and issued the studies for the U. S. Economic Cooperation Administration (later the Mutual Security Administration, and now the Foreign Operations Administration; hereafter referred to as "ECA"). Other credit lines are given separately for each study:

"A Village in Central Greece," Spring 1951, 19 pp. Written by Marie Tchobanoglou from material secured by A. Argyropoulos, N. Infantides, and Penelope Marinou, under the field supervision of Aristides Macris.

"A Village in the Arta Plains," Spring 1951, 8 pp. Same personnel as above.

"A Macedonian Village," May 1951, 14 pp. Written by Marie Tchobanoglou from material secured by N. Micos, P. Marinou, and P. Okkalides, under the field supervision of Aristides Macris.

"A Village in the Agrinion Area," Oct. 1951, 16 pp. Same as above.

"A 'Control' Village of the Messolonghi Area," Oct. 1951, 12 pp. Written from material secured by Angelos Argyropoulos and Eleni Sotiriou, under the field supervision of Aristides Macris.

"A 'Control' Village in Macedonia," Nov. 1951, 14 pp. Written by Marie Tchobanoglou from material secured by N. Micos, P. Okkalides, and Loukia Argyriou, under the field supervision of Aristides Macris.

"A Village in the Serres Plains," Dec. 1951, 9 pp. Same as third citation above.

rural sociologists from the United States helped initiate and carry forward these socio-economic surveys, and second, because these studies, though in a preliminary stage of social science investigation, do add some interesting facts to our knowledge of rural society in the Balkans.

The studies were first conceived by Walter E. Packard, an irrigation engineer with the ECA. In order to meet the pressing demands for greater food production, the Greek government, with the help of the ECA, was renting communal land from a number of villages for rice cultivation. The rent was to be used for the reconstruction and development of the communities in-

"A Mountain Village, Grammos Area," Mar. 1952, 16 pp. By H. Panayotides, under supervision of Aristides Macris, in consultation with the Agricultural Extension Division of the Ministry of Agriculture.

"A Messolonghi Village (Irrigated)," Apr. 1952, 19 pp. Same as above.

"A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," Spring 1952, 17 pp. Prepared by A. Argyropoulos, in consultation with the Agricultural Extension Division of the Ministry of Agriculture.

"A Mountain Village, Lamia Area," May 1952, 13 pp. By A. Argyropoulos, under supervision of Aristides Macris, in consultation with the Agricultural Extension Division of the Ministry of Agriculture.

"A Livestock One-Half-Irrigated Village," May 1952, 15 pp. Prepared by Ch. Panayotides, in consultation with the Agricultural Extension Division of the Ministry of Agriculture.

"A Village in the Plain of Verria," May 1952, 14 pp. Written by N. Micos from material compiled by A. Argyropoulos, in consultation with the Agricultural Extension Division of the Ministry of Agriculture.

volved. Foreseeing that there might be a tendency to spend these sums in a hit-or-miss fashion, Packard suggested social surveys to determine just what facilities the villagers needed most. Should the money be spent on rebuilding churches or bridges? on homes or roads?

The ECA had no sociologist on its staff; so no steps were taken toward launching the studies until Packard happened to mention his ideas to Howard W. Beers, a Fulbright professor at the Superior School of Agriculture in Athens, and also Rural Projects Coordinator for the Near East Foundation. This latter organization, which had had a distinguished record of service in Greece since the end of World War I and the days of Near East Relief, agreed to conduct the studies, under a tripartite memorandum of agreement with the ECA and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. But by the time the cooperative arrangements had been made between the Ministry, the ECA Mission, and the Near East Foundation, Beers' period of service was up. After a short lapse of time, he was succeeded by William J. Tudor, who manifested deep interest in the studies and directed many of them. E. J. Kilpatrick, an agricultural extension specialist, succeeded Tudor.

The importance of these studies lies not in any methodological contribution but rather in the fact that they are the first expression, in Greece, of an interest in the effects of social change on the part of those initiating this change. In order to study these effects, "control" villages were selected; but thus far nothing has been published to compare the results in the areas of activity with those in the control localities. This, of course, would be a step beyond the purely descriptive accounts, which is all the individual village studies purport to be.

All thirteen of the studies follow a somewhat similar outline, which includes:

- I. History of the Village
- II. Facilities
- III. Population
- IV. Social and Community Relationships
- V. Village Organization
- VI. Farming and Livestock
- VII. Community Needs

In addition, the school and the church are topics of separate sections in several of the reports. Obviously, in attempting to evaluate the material on social organization, which is the principal interest of this paper, one has to examine several of the main sections listed above.

The villages surveyed were not selected as representative of all of Greece; they do not include any communities from the Peloponnese (Morea) or the Islands. The first six were picked because they were receiving the rent previously mentioned. Later on, some mountain villages were selected to provide necessary data for other types of localities; but, since these had no "rice money" to be used for survey purposes, the financing was done out of ECA funds.

Nevertheless, these thirteen villages illustrate the regional variety of Greece, particularly when they are seen in terms of their livelihood resource adjustments. The reports also give clues to one searching for common characteristics in Greek villages. Even studies which do no more than this fill a very definite need at the present state of social investigation in Greece.

The picture of Greek village social organization that one gets from these studies is merely introductory. There is almost no detailed analysis of social relationships, the area of chief concern to the sociologist. But the studies do contain the background material

against which any social relationships must be understood and interpreted. This will become clear in the following brief summaries of the major topics dealing with social organization.

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

Family structure.—Only one study, that of the Messolonghi (Irrigated) village, gives any information on the structure of the family. It points out the common practice there for married sons to live with their parents in the same home. All such family members recognize the father or grandfather as the head of the family and obey him as such. Unmarried or married brothers also live together and consider the older brother the head of the composite family. The initiative for the housework belongs to the oldest woman of the family—grandmother, mother, daughter, or daughter-in-law, as the case may be. For work not connected with the house, the women take directions from the male head.² A second study—that of the "livestock, half-irrigated" village—indicates that the family head, usually a shepherd, is a strict ruler, whether at home or away with the flock.

Age of marriage.—The nine studies reporting actual ages indicate a fairly wide variation. In general, girls marry after 18 but before 25 years. A girl is considered an old maid by age 25 (three villages), 26 (one village), or 30 (one village). The men's military service usually postpones their marriage. In two villages, men are said to marry before 25 years as a rule; in two other villages, after 25 years; specific information was not given for the other communities.

² It is to be regretted that the other studies did not consider these same items, since individual rather than patrilocal residence is said to prevail in some sections of Greece today. Where there are joint households, of course, the oldest male is in authority.

Dowry.—Twelve of the thirteen studies mention the dowry, which figures prominently in all but two villages: the Grammos Mountain village, where it is not customary, and the Arta Plains village, where it is of minor importance. In the ten other cases, the dowry includes clothes and furnishings for the house (blankets, rugs, mattresses, utensils, etc.). In addition, land or money, or both, is expected in five villages. Amounts of money mentioned vary from \$337 to \$675, though the medium of exchange used is the English sovereign. In two cases, it was specifically stated that the sons could not marry until their sisters had all married, a custom which would also hold true for some of the other villages as well.

The importance of the dowry in the marriage pattern in contemporary Greece is best illustrated by the following quotations from the studies: "The majority of men look for hard-working wives with big dowries." "The dowry is the first consideration for marriage." "A girl needs a dowry to marry. At marriage of his first child the father divides his land among his children and his share and even a brother's share may go for a sister's dowry." "A girl's dowry determines her worthiness." "The dowry is the first factor in 70 percent of the marriages."³

Mate selection.—In only one village was it claimed that the young people marry for love, although in four other villages the young people have a right to express their choices before their parents conclude arrangements. In five

³ There has been a strengthening of the dowry system in many parts of Greece, because the economic situation is such that a young couple cannot make ends meet unless they start out with a house and furnishings, or at least a substantial sum of money or good farm land. The dowry system is more common in southern than in northern Greece.

other villages the choice of mates is said to be exclusively up to the parents. In three studies, the Sunday afternoon stroll—sometimes called the "brides' walk"—is mentioned as an occasion when young people become acquainted.

Extra-marital sexual relations.—Five studies deal with this topic. Two said that there were no extra-marital relations among the young people (though one had reservations about a few married and widowed individuals); one said that such relations were few; another said that these relations were "legalized by force"; and the fifth said that they were kept secret, although there were cases of engaged couples living together before marriage to avoid wedding expenses at the present time, to wait until the girl's dowry was completed (for she would not get it after marriage), or to avoid the boy's entry into the army (since as a single man he could claim to be the support of a family, but could not do so if just married).

Divorce.—Of the nine studies mentioning divorce, one claimed that the village described had no divorced people, while the other eight reported from one to four divorced couples each.* In general, the position of the divorced woman continues to be precarious, not only because of the moral stigma but also because of her inability in some villages to remarry unless she has a dowry or "is young and has no children."

THE VILLAGE CHURCH

Each of the villages studied has at least one Eastern Orthodox (Greek

Catholic) church and a minimum of one priest, although the priest for the Serres Plains village (population 556) can find no house there and commutes from a larger center nearby. The village in Central Greece has an extra priest sent from the city of Lamia to serve a penalty imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities. There tends to be only slight mobility among the priesthood, since in the Greek church a priest marries before taking a parish, where he settles down with his family and frequently becomes a landowner. In six villages the tenure had been 20 to 29 years; in four villages, from 2 to 10 years. Only two of the studies mention the priest as being a community leader, but nowadays this is likely to depend largely upon the personality of the priest himself.

The church building.—The problem of constructing a new church when needed, or repairing and maintaining some of the older buildings, is a matter of considerable community attention. When a new building is needed, it is customary to form a special building committee which collects funds from all prospective donors, even to the extent of persuading the local government (the Community Board) to budget a fixed sum toward the project. One community, divided into an Upper Quarter and a Lower Quarter, has postponed the erection of an urgently needed church—the Upper Quarter wants to build a separate church of its own, but the higher church authorities insist that there be but one church in the community, and that is planned for the Lower Quarter. Because of the controversy, most Upper Quarter residents no longer attend church, even though they respect the priest.

Financing.—Yearly financing of regular activities is based chiefly upon the sale of candles to the entering worshippers, who place them when lighted in the special candelabra in front of

* An interesting contradiction in value judgments occurs in two of the studies. The writer of the Macedonian village account says that the two divorces there are considered a *high* number for a village, whereas the writer of the Verria study says that divorce there is *rare*, since only two cases are to be found.

the ikons. Money is also obtained from the collections taken up during the service and from ceremonial fees (baptisms, weddings, and funerals). One church owns a coffee house and five churches own land, from which rentals are derived.

The priests are paid by the national government. For this reason, parishes are asked to turn over to the government and the bishopric a certain share of their income, stated as 25 per cent to the state and from 15 to 19 per cent to the bishop. Some of the people—particularly those in the smaller villages—resent this assessment, even though they receive benefits in return. As a consequence, many individual peasants are stopping their contributions. Chanters and candlelighters (custodians) are paid out of local funds.

The church finances are under the control of the Church Board, which consists of two to four members, with the priest as the president. These men are nominated by the priest and approved by the bishop's council. In addition to controlling finances (which usually includes the sale of the candles previously mentioned), this board is supposed to maintain the church building in good repair and to keep order in the church.

Sunday Schools.—The adoption of the Western trait, the Sunday School, is an interesting development. During the days of Turkish rule (which, for some parts of Greece included in these studies, lasted until World War I), the priest often conducted a school, frequently in the church; but it was not a Sunday School in the American sense. Nowadays, in the village of Central Greece, we find that Sunday School is held on Sunday mornings from 10 to 12 o'clock, and is compulsory for all school children; in the Agrinion area, village Sunday School classes have been held since 1932 and, in addition, there is a

Christian Organization of Working Youth, who meet weekly for religious instruction, and the Christian Adult Women who meet Sunday after the morning service. In the Messolonghi control village, the church school meets on Saturday afternoon and is conducted by the teacher, for school children only; others attend the church school on Sunday afternoon, at which time the Bible passage read by the priest in the morning service is explained and religious songs and hymns are sung. In the Macedonia control village, two women come out from Salonica to conduct Sunday afternoon classes. In the Lamia area, village Sunday School classes are conducted for 70 pupils. In the reports on the eight other villages, no mention was made of the Sunday School, which would imply that they had not yet accepted this sociofact.

A brief note for those interested in schismatic behavior deals with the failure on the part of minorities of the families in two villages to accept the New Style Calendar when, in 1923, it was substituted for the Gregorian Calendar of the Eastern World. By 1933, the dissidents in one village had united to form a separate church, which is now served infrequently by a priest from a neighboring city or village.

THE VILLAGE SCHOOL

Every one of the villages has a school which is housed in some kind of a building, whether a temporary shed or a soundly built, modern stone structure. In general, equipment seems to be lacking and little playground space is available.⁵ In the poorest school (Grammos Mountain village), there are no books, no notebooks, and no writing materials of any kind. The teacher reads from one book (*All the*

⁵ Such facts must be understood in light of the great destruction of villages during World War II and the guerrilla war, which lasted down to 1949.

Public School Courses), just as the priest read from the Bible in the private schools of 100 years ago. In addition to deficiencies in equipment and books, the studies indicate unsafe water supplies and the absence of sanitary latrines.

Teachers.—The teachers, like the priests, are paid by the central government. In almost every case they have had at least a normal-school training, which requires two years beyond the high school (gymnasium). Since the teachers are regarded by many as important instruments of village uplift, it is important to note their relationships to the villagers whom they are supposedly trying to help. In five villages the comments are favorable in that some of the teachers in each place form friendly connections with the people and try to help them. Unfavorable comments come from two villages, in one of which "the teachers come from cities, their thinking is urban, and they find it difficult to take part in village activities"; in the second village, the teachers take no initiative in village activity or in forming local friendships. For six villages the studies contain no clear-cut characterization of teacher-villager relationships.

Financing.—As a rule, the teachers run the school without benefit of any citizen body. The Macedonia control village was the only one for which a managing body was reported, and it existed to help control the money collected from land owned by the school.⁶ The national government, in addition to paying the teachers' salaries and providing some sort of supervisory and inspection service, also contributes on occasion to the cost of school construction. However, most of the cost of a new building, if these studies can be assumed to be typical in this respect,

must be borne by the local people. The operating expenses each year are met out of voluntary pupil contributions or required registration fees, as well as from land rental, income from the school garden, and sums turned over by the Community Board.

THE COMMUNITY BOARD

But what is this Community Board which contributes as it sees fit to the church or the school? The Boards in the villages described in these thirteen studies vary in size from five to nine members, depending upon the population of the community. Insight into their workings can be obtained from a passage in the report on the Messo-longhi control village:

The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salary-paid, permanent employee of the community, whose duty is to keep all community correspondence and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen are non-paid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one million drachmae [about \$33.00 at official rate of exchange] for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections [April, 1951]. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

Administratively, the principle of centralized authority is followed. The national government appoints the *Nomarch*, who is the head of the *Nomos*, or province. Each *Nomos* is further divided into *Eparchies*, which are geographical rather than administrative units. Each *Eparchy* is further broken down into municipalities, which are called *Demos* for larger towns and *Kinotis* for smaller towns and villages. The mayor of the *Demos* or the president of the Community Board in the *Kinotis* is directly responsible to the

⁶ This managing board is a common feature in the administration of the schools throughout Greece.

Nomarch. Thus, there is home rule only at the municipality and village level; but even there local officials are looked upon as agents of the central government, as represented in the office of the *Nomarch*. Nevertheless, in the life of the village the Community Board has a major place. Not all villages have a paid secretary, nor does the president of the Community Board (or Council) always receive any income. Most of the villages either have special buildings for the local government or rent a room or two near the main square.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Each of the thirteen reports lists the stores, shops, and artisans' ateliers found in the community being described. The reports also provide facts and figures on landownership, agricultural production, and farming practices. Since the economic aspects are not a central interest in this summary of the studies, only two of the formalized economic arrangements will be mentioned. These are the cooperative and the coffee house.

Cooperatives.—All but three villages have cooperatives. Five villages have one cooperative, three have two cooperatives, and two villages have three cooperatives. One quotation, from the Verria Plain village report, will show the similarity of Greek farm cooperatives to those in other parts of the world:

We find in the village a credit co-op. Its purpose up to date has been similar to that of other such co-ops all over Greece: i.e., to help its members on credit matters; with the Agrarian Bank, to provide them seeds and other farm supplies given out by the Bank. At present this co-op has 128 active members. It has no capital of its own. The yearly contribution of each member is 15,000 drs. [50¢]. During 1951, 170 million drs. worth of loans were contracted from the Bank by this local co-op which were distributed to its 128 members; 120 million drs. were in cash

and 50 million were in the form of wheat and cotton seed, etc. The different obligations of those borrowing money from the Agrarian Bank are: Bank interest 7%; for local co-op administration 1%; for co-op Union administration 1%; and ¼ % for Bank supervision of the co-ops.

The co-op has a five member administrative council and a three member supervising council, and in addition a co-op union representative [that is, a member elected to represent the local co-op in the assembly of the national union]. The co-op president is a non-salaried officer who also acts as its secretary.

The coffee house.—In every listing of shops, the coffee house is one of the most numerous kinds and exists even if other services are lacking. Although the coffee house is touched upon in all thirteen studies, only six studies afford enough details for a comparative analysis.⁷ There were at least three of these shops in each of the six villages, and one had as many as eight. There were, in addition, mixed or variety stores at which drinks could also be bought. In the Arta Plains village, the three coffee shops also carried the few articles sold in the village.

In answer to the question, "Who opens up and runs a coffee house?" the studies give little information. Three of the studies state that some of the proprietors farm, either taking every other day at the coffee house in turn with a partner, or else opening up in the evening upon returning from a day in the fields. But for the majority of proprietors, running the coffee house seems to be the chief occupation. In three studies, it was pointed out that only family help is used; hired help is mentioned in one study.

A look at the clientele of each establishment provides some insight into the social structure of the village.

⁷ These are the Macedonia control, Serres Plains, Arta Plains, Macedonian, Messo-longhi control, and Central Greece villages. These particular studies, with more sociological content, were directed by Tudor.

First, there is a variation in patronage between summer and winter. Three studies present seasonal figures. In the Macedonia control village, regular customers for Coffee House A number 30 in summer, 120 in winter; B—50 in summer, 100 in winter; C—80 in both seasons; and D—100 only in summer. In the Serres Plains village, regular customers were not counted, but calculations were made of the number of men likely to be found in the coffee house at any given time. For each of the three places, the estimate is 8 to 15 in winter, 4 or 5 in summer, and 10 to 20 on Sundays and holidays. For the three coffee houses of the Macedonia village, the figures given are 20 to 50 in winter and 5 to 10 in summer—except for one coffee house which caters to the younger men and has almost no summer patronage because the potential customers are hard at work.

Furthermore, the hours of business change with the seasons. In the Macedonia control village, the businesses are open all day in winter but close earlier in the evening than in summer, during which time they close for the afternoon siesta. In the Serres Plains, the winter hours are from 7 A.M. to 9 P.M.; the summer hours, from 6:30 A.M. to 10 P.M. During the winter the largest numbers gather in afternoon and late morning, and in the summer the evening hours are most popular. The same facts are cited for the Macedonian village, where mention is made of moving the tables outdoors when the weather becomes warm enough.

The villages also differ in the degree to which old and young people intermingle in the coffee houses. In only one village—that of the Serres Plains—was it indicated that young men mixed freely with their elders in the coffee houses, and even played games with them. In three other villages, it was expressly pointed out that different age groups (the aged, the middle-aged, and the younger men) chose dif-

ferent establishments. This division was based on the younger men's respect for their elders. In one village, women can enter the coffee houses only on Sundays and holidays, though girls must always be with relatives or several acquaintances. In a second village, where the coffee house serves as a small variety shop, the women never enter but trade through the shop's windows. A third study states that only men frequent such places; the other ten studies do not treat the question.

The strong, sirupy, Turkish coffee served is certainly not the major attraction of the coffee house. In some of them *ouzo* (a liquor made from wine lees) and spoon sweets are available. Only one place was described as being more of a tavern than a coffee house—where the opening of a new cask of wine was a village event prompting all of the men to come around to taste the contents of the newly tapped cask. Card games, chess, and checkers are played in several of the coffee houses; dancing to phonograph records occurs in some of the establishments frequented by the younger men. In two villages, customers can listen to battery radios or patronize the barbershop in the corner. The popularity of a particular barber brings in extra coffee-house trade from those waiting their turn with the barber. One coffee house is popular because it is located just opposite the main fountain where the village girls come to get their evening supply of water. The boys and girls do not communicate with each other, but they at least can gaze.

The six studies taking up the coffee house in detail tell of capital investment varying from 1 to 5 million *drachmae* (\$33 to \$168). Credit is usually extended without interest up to a limit of around 200,000 *drachmae*, with exceptional cases running to four or five times that amount. Coffee-house debts are paid when the harvest is sold.

As is obvious from the foregoing, the purpose of the coffee house is not that primarily of providing coffee and drink, but rather to furnish a meeting place at which men can see each other. People wishing to arrange business deals meet in the coffee house to discuss them; those wishing to find out the latest news or seek advice from some more experienced farmer go there. Also, those who simply want to play cards or checkers or tell stories find the coffee-house atmosphere congenial. For only four of the villages was mention made of topics discussed by the coffee-house cliques: In three, they dealt chiefly with land or local problems and seldom with politics; in the fourth, politics as well as community problems were argued.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Only six of the thirteen studies provided any information on organizations other than the church, the school, the community board, and the cooperative. The inference might well be that additional organizations do not exist. Three of the six villages (Central Greece, Macedonia, Verria Plain) have athletic groups which field soccer teams against neighboring villages. The Xanthe Nomos village has a Boy Scout troop of forty six members. The Central Greece village, in addition to a local soccer team, had an Association of Landless Peasants, a group connected with the National Security Battalions (defense against Communist-led guerrilla activity), and some members in the Tradesman's Organization in Lamia. No mention is made in these studies of local irrigation associations, over fifty of which have been organized in Greece within the past two or three years, but probably not in these villages.

Although not satisfying in its coverage or completeness, this information on organizations is at least suggestive

and shows that to some extent formal organizational techniques are spreading throughout parts of rural Greece.

INFORMAL ORGANIZATION

No mention is made in these studies of the patterns of mutual aid which are general throughout Greece under a variety of names; nor is there any analysis of what might be called congenial cliques. Nine of the villages have festival days, when many outsiders and former residents come for a gala celebration, but nothing is stated about the social effects of this influx of visitors upon the local people. Only in a cursory treatment of the status system do we find any effort made to deal sociologically with informal arrangements. One study ignores this topic; two studies state that no class differences exist in the villages being described. The remaining ten stress economic position and wealth as being most important (mentioned eight times); in three villages, according to the reports, this economic power must be accompanied by a generosity and a willingness to share with the less fortunate; in only three villages is education said to be important in determining one's social position; in one village a person's contributions toward village betterment is listed as a criterion. People in the village made up largely of refugees from Asia Minor valued individuals in official positions (priest, president of community board, etc.) more than the wealthy farmers, who were considered too conservative. In three village reports it was specifically stated that the family background was of little importance. The uneven treatment of these topics and the variation in presentation would indicate that one cannot generalize too confidently from the findings presented. Apparently economic distinctions are the basis for social distinctions.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Many topics of interest to the sociologist are included in these studies but are not covered in this article. These include demographic data dealing with mobility, increase, and population quality (health and education). The historical sketches, of which there is one in the beginning of each study, are essential for anyone seeking to trace social change. Because of their brevity and because they tell only of the conflicts, the very brief references

to relations within the village and relations between the village under study and other villages are not very useful guides to an understanding of the social processes. But any sociologist who will take these studies at their face value, who will not expect a sophisticated methodological treatment, and who will look for glimmers of light rather than strong rays of revelation will find himself adequately rewarded for the time he spends in familiarizing himself with them.

RESEARCH NOTES

Edited by Harold F. Kaufman

A COLONO SYSTEM AND ITS RELATION TO SEASONAL LABOR PROBLEMS ON A COSTA RICAN HACIENDA

by Thomas L. Norrist

One of the most frequent problems which coffee growers have to face throughout Latin America is that of obtaining an adequate labor supply in accordance with fluctuating seasonal demands. Coffee production requires large numbers of laborers for a few months of the year during the harvest season, but for the remainder of the year only a small skeleton crew is needed to cultivate the coffee. This problem is more acute for large farm owners than for small farm operators who function on a family basis. This report describes the *colono* system in Costa Rica, which the writer considers to be a unique solution to seasonal labor demands on a large hacienda.

In the Turrialba region of Costa Rica,¹ the harvest season is longer than in other areas because climatic peculiarities result in an uneven maturity rate of the coffee beans. This is further complicated by the fact that there are no large urban centers, aside from Turrialba City, from which laborers can be recruited. While the typical Costa Rican coffee farm is generally described as a small, owner-operated unit, the trend is away from this norm, and as the Biesanzes point out, the present era may well represent a "transition from peasantry to peonage in Costa Rica."² A survey published in 1947 showed 25,447 coffee farms belonging to 21,576 owners and having a total population of 114,026.³ However, a more recent census indicated that something more than 45 per cent of the agricultural land is in the hands of less than 7 per cent of the farmers.⁴ A study of the Central District of Turrialba in 1951 showed that almost 80 per cent of the rural families in the district are de-

pendent upon the large landholdings for their livelihood.⁵

Of the several large haciendas⁶ in the Turrialba District, Aquiares is the largest. The hacienda contains 2,360 acres, 898 of which are in coffee. In 1950, the farm records indicated that there were 1,372 persons living on the hacienda. One hundred and thirty-two families, with a total of 825 persons, were classified as belonging to day-labor, managerial, and administrative groups. Seventy-five families, a total of 547 persons, were living in *colonias* or tenant coffee lots. The average length of residence for heads of households was twenty-four years. Sixty-four per cent of these heads of households were born in Aquiares, and 21 per cent originated on other farms owned by the same *patron*. Thus, 85 per cent of the heads of households have ties with the *patron*, either through birth or through previous association with him on another of his farms. The remaining 15 per cent were recruited from the Turrialba area or San Jose, the nation's capital. The other large haciendas in the Turrialba area recruit additional workers for the coffee harvest from October through February in Turrialba City, and sometimes by cooperative exchange of labor. The risks and uncertainties of such practices were foreseen more than thirty-eight years ago, when the *patron* of Aquiares instituted the *colono* system for which his hacienda is well-known throughout the country.⁷

In 1915, the *colono* system was introduced into Aquiares as an experiment. The *colono* is a person who:

* Paul C. Morrison and Jorge Leon, "Sequent Occupation, Turrialba Central District, Costa Rica," *Turrialba*, 1 (1951), p. 195.

* Spanish terms used in this paper: *colón* (pl. *colonos*)—basic unit of Costa Rican currency, about 13.3 cents in U. S. money; *colonia*—a lot of coffee trees worked by a *colono*; *colono*—a tenant who cultivates and lives on a *colonia* belonging to a hacienda; *encargado*—crew boss or foreman; *fanga*—measure of coffee, 11.35 bushels; *hacienda*—a large agricultural estate or farm; *manzana*—a measure of land, 1.727 acres; *patron*—owner of a large farm; *peón*—laborer who works for a daily wage.

* For more complete descriptions of Aquiares hacienda, see: Thomas L. Norris and Paul C. Morrison, "Some Aspects of Life on a Large Costa Rican Coffee Finca," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, 38 (1952), pp. 331-345 (published in 1953); also Paul C. Morrison and Thomas L. Norris, "Aquiares, Aspects of Coffee Production and Processing on a Large Costa Rican Coffee Finca," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, 31 (1953) to be published in 1954.

† Brockton, Massachusetts.

¹ The field work for this study was sponsored by the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Turrialba, Costa Rica, and by Michigan State College.

² John Biesanz and Mavis Biesanz, *Costa Rican Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 151.

³ "Costa Rica—Summary of Current Economic Information," *International Reference Service* (U. S. Dept. Commerce, Office Internat'l Trade), No. 10 (May, 1947), p. 2.

⁴ "Sample Census of Agriculture, Costa Rica, 1950," *Ministerio de Agricultura*. Computation from unpublished data was made by Charles H. Proctor.

contracts with the landowner to care for and harvest, under the supervision of an employee of the landowner, a lot of coffee for a fixed price per *fanega* of coffee produced. At the end of the harvest, the *colono* is paid any difference due him after the total of weekly advances he has received has been deducted from the value of the crop at the contract rate.*

The general plan was to import *colonos* who previously had held positions as *peones* on other *haciendas* of the *patron*. This process was highly selective; that is, only *peones* with histories of loyalty and "desirable" work habits were to be chosen. *Colonos* came in groups of families that were already acquainted with each other "in order to facilitate adjustment." Each family was ceded a *colonia*, at the rate of about three *manzanas* per family of five, and provided with housing and kindling-wood privileges. In addition, each family was granted a small plot of land for cultivating garden crops "to keep them busy during the off-season." The produce and income from the harvest on these plots were for subsistence purposes, although surplus could be sold. Finally, *colonos* were loaned money for the purchase of seeds, fertilizers, and equipment.

During the first year, about twenty-five *colono* families were established, most of whom were selected from *peones* on other holdings of the owner. Today, there are seventy-five *colonos* operating some 341 *manzanas* of coffee.

The *colono* receives his orders from a member of the managerial group, an *encargado*, who supervises the *colonias* in his sector. There are three such sectors on the *hacienda*. This foreman passes through his sector daily and observes the progress of the *colono* in the work currently being carried on. Once a week he talks with the *colono* to calculate how much money he will be advanced for the operation in progress. The rate for each operation varies, but is set so that a week's advance will approximate the salary paid to a *peon*. The *colono* does not, however, receive compensation for the work of the members of his family in his *colonia*.

The *colono* lives in a two- or three-room house on his lot, and is eligible to use a small plot for garden crops. The average size of the garden plots worked by the *colonos* is seven-tenths of a *manzana*. The "right" to work a garden plot, which is originally ceded to the *colono* by the *patron*, is often "sold" to another *colono* or

farm employee. The price of sale ranges from 250 to 500 *colonos*, depending on its size, whether it has been cleared, and whether it is planted in crops. While the average size of the *colonias* is about five *manzanas*, the seventy-five *colonias* on the estate range from two to ten *manzanas* in size. The size of a *colono's* lot depends partly on the size of his family, and partly on his work history as a *colono*. The average harvest per *colonia*, in 1950, was 47 *fanegas*, giving an average remunerative return of about 2,800 *colonos* to the *colono*. The difference in total average income between *peon* and *colono* was about 1,300 *colonos*, the former averaging about 1,500 *colonos* a year. This difference is somewhat balanced out by virtue of the fact that a *colono* receives no compensation for the productive labor of the able-bodied members of his family who work on his lot, aside from the commissary credit-bonus, which is awarded for each basket of berries picked. Furthermore, some preference seems to be shown to sons of *peones* when extra labor is needed, but this is not a hard-and-fast rule. The contract of the *colono* obligates him to work for the *hacienda* as a day-wage earner when his services may be needed.

As members of a system distinct from that of the *peones*, the *colonos* as a whole feel that their situation is somewhat more advantageous. The values involved are not only pecuniary, but are related also to the relatively greater degree of independence which accrues to the *colono* in his work, as exemplified in this comment by a *colono*: "The advantage of being a *colono* is that I can get up in the morning whenever I want, while the *peones* must be at work by six a. m." The *colono* also enjoys a measure of greater prestige. Interviews with *peones* and *colonos* alike indicated almost unanimous agreement that the life of the *colono* was better, chiefly because of the added independence.

Ten judges were asked to rank a fifty per cent sample of heads of households in the community, and *colonos*, as a whole, received higher rankings than *peones*. When the same ten judges were asked to rank some thirty-two statuses on the *hacienda*, the averages of the judgments placed the *colonos* a little above the *peones*. The fact that the *colono* receives a substantial sum of money in July when the accounts are liquidated appealed to the *peones* questioned, but the *colonos* themselves were more reserved in estimating the pecuniary advantages of their status. One *colono* stated his views in these words: "The co-

* Morrison and Norris, *ibid.*

lono system is deceptive for those who have never operated a *colonia*. Even so, the *colono* has a better opportunity to open the doors to luck if he uses his head."

Much of the money received at the liquidation of the coffee accounts goes toward the purchase of clothing and household supplies. However, a certain amount of celebrating and party-giving seems to be expected at the time, and large sums may be dissipated in a few days.

The farm administration has undertaken to organize the *colonos* into neighborhood work crews to carry out the more crucial tasks on their lots under the surveillance of a foreman. The *colonos* in the crew are

paid the minimum wage for *peones*, and the total amount they receive is deducted from the account of the *colono* on whose lot they have been working.

Although other large *hacienda* owners have looked upon this *colono* experiment as "socialistic" or even "communistic," it seems likely that the plan actually serves to increase the interdependence of the *colono* and the *hacienda* administration, and thus increases the stability which the owner has sought to introduce through the implementation of this system. In this sense, the *colono* system serves to guarantee permanent, dependable labor at a minimal cost to the owner.

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY NOTES

Edited by Paul A. Miller

AN EGYPTIAN EXPERIMENT IN FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION

by Ibrahim Esmat Metaweht

On the western side of the river Nile, 22 miles from Cairo, lies Munchat-Elkanatir village, which was chosen in 1947 for the establishment of an experimental rural community school. The purpose of this school is to supply the 4,000 villages and the 5,000 elementary schools in Egypt with rural social leaders and trained classroom teachers who have an intimate knowledge of Egyptian rural life. It is also a research center for rural education. Although under the Ministry of Education, the school has a special board to supervise its activities.

Location of the school in the village provides the students with a society rather similar to that in which they will work after graduation. Those accepted for enrollment are students from Egyptian villages who have finished six years of study in elementary schools and who can pass successfully the examinations and interviews held at the beginning of every year. The age of the students varies from 13 to 16 years at the time of entrance. Free tuition, board, and lodging are offered to all the students.

The principal objectives of this school are to bring education into the closest possible relationship with the rural environment, to acquaint the students with the rural localities through direct contact and experience, and to develop an interest in reform based on study, knowledge, research, and activity in and out of the school. The interest in reform is directly related to the rural environment. Thus, the education which develops this interest must be derived from the rural environment and reflected back to it. Through this education, the student may feel himself part of that environment and devote his time and effort to serving it.

Modern education in Egypt has been more or less isolated from the actual life of the students, largely because it has been imported from abroad and has not been given enough time and proper conditions to become acclimatized. In the rural community school, emphasis is on education derived from the rural environment—while at the same time developing a liberal attitude of accepting the best which can be brought from other places. The idea of community is considered as local, regional, national,

and world-wide in scope. An education so related to the environment and life of the pupil, and yet broad and liberal enough to give him the widest possible scope, should result in a generation that will be close to the soil and will both adjust to existing conditions and utilize every possible means for future progress.

At the same time, education in the rural community school is based upon the activity of the students and their work together in a democratic way. Knowledge is not an aim in itself but a means to an end, and what knowledge the students acquire in this school they get by themselves in a process of shared activity. The well-known project method and the field-trip method characterize the work in the school, and they are used on a serious and realistic plane. Projects and field trips relating to health, agriculture, building, cooperation, and social problems are of importance to the life of the students, the school, and the village community. Such projects are handled by the students in the light of their own needs, as well as those of the community. In this way, the ability to handle physical and social situations is cultivated. The interaction between the individual and his physical and social environment is sought in every way possible.

Students in the rural community school visit villages, homes of farmers, farms, markets, shops, industries, hospitals, schools, museums, and other institutions and resources, to study by both observation and interview. They return to the school with full reports of the field trips. They bring back specimens, drawings, pictures, statistics, and other data concerning the problems of the study sites. After every excursion, the students sift their findings into respective topics that fall under the school's curriculum, i. e., rural problems, geography, history, agricultural economics, agricultural industries, rural crafts, and arithmetic. They then consult their teachers, the resource visitors, the library, and the museum in carrying forward their studies and follow-up activities. Traditional blackboard lessons accent certain fundamental information and are followed by study circles to discuss specific problems. Experiments are performed in the laboratory and on the farm attached to the school.

Serious difficulties have been encountered in the actual execution of these different and progressive schemes of work. Of great

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assistance in solving these difficulties have been the syllabus and the timetable. The syllabus is developed in such a form that it guides both the teacher and the student in the details of method rather than the details of subject matter. As a matter of fact, the syllabus consists mainly of a method of studying the environment in a systematic way. There is little interest in being confined to the environment, but it is a useful starting point. Then, teacher and student may go on to other relationships with the wider world, so as to be able to utilize knowledge from this wider world for the benefit of the student's environment and for the building of an effective relationship with it.

With regard to the timetable of the school, a whole day is set for the field trips, which are carried out almost weekly. The work in agriculture, agricultural industries, and rural crafts is given enough time by grouping the hours of study for each subject. For marketing the products of the school farm in the market of the village, a period of time is fixed in the timetable during which the students of every class obtain experience in selling the products. The timetable is changed according to educational circumstances, as necessary. Classes in the school may be canceled for several days in order to prepare an exposition in the school to which the parents of the students are invited, as well as the farmers from nearby villages. Also, visits to villages may be made to act out plays related to health problems and techniques of agriculture in a simple theater in front of the inhabitants of the village. At given times, students may be busy in cultivating the school farm, or they may be celebrating the harvest. In the same way, the timetable may provide for a week of discussions and debates on the critical issues in rural education and rural traditions.

The rural community school had its inception in the minds of an enthusiastic, young, but experienced group of teachers,¹ graduates of Cairo University and the High Institute of Education in Cairo. These teachers believed that an essential condition for changing rural society was a new order of education—an education which would accept an increasing responsibility for participation in the dynamics of social change. They believed that technological advances in production must be accompanied by similar progress in education and culture, es-

pecially in the rural areas of Egypt, which differ widely from the cities.

In July, 1947, the group of teachers held a three-week camp in which they actually studied the educational, social, economic, and health problems of five villages in Fauoum province. In this survey, the teachers pointed out clearly the role of education in dealing with and solving the various problems of the Egyptian village. They presented their reports to the Department of Research and Educational Projects, and to the Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Education.² The reports moved the idea of Munchat-Elkanatir training school toward becoming a reality. The same group of teachers, together with other supervisors,³ participated in the construction of the curriculum for the school. They were guided by the significant elements of the rural environment studied in the survey. This group built the core of the curriculum mainly around the major processes and problems of rural life.

Thus, the experiment of the rural community school is well into the fifth year. The 300 students in the school represent to a great extent the rural population of Egypt. The rural people of Egypt depend directly upon agriculture and small agricultural industries for a livelihood. The students are strongly attached to the land because it is the land upon which their ancestors lived and worked for many generations. The rural people constitute 80 per cent of the total population in Egypt.

The students live in the camps of the rural community school, where they are exposed to an abundance of fresh air and sunshine. They are simple, hard-working, and active. If one visits the school, he may find a class at the farm controlling weeds and insects, or working on experiments to determine the amount of fertilizer needed for various crops, vegetables, and fruits cultivated on the school farm. Another class may be finishing the building of a house for the farmer whom they previously visited in the village. First, the students might construct the house in its traditional form. Then, after various studies in science, hygiene, architecture, and economics, they may build a new house as they believe it should be. Following this activity, they next invite the farmers to see the dif-

¹ Ismail El-Kabbany, now Minister of Education of Egypt.

² Fouad Galal, now Minister of National Guidance of Egypt, and Khalil Kamil, principal of Munchat-Elkanatir Training School and an expert for UNESCO in its experiments on rural fundamental education.

³ Shaflk Ibrahim, Saad Hussein, Mohsin Abdelfattah, Shawky Soliman, Abdelmaygood Elbagooty, Saad Elmougy, and the writer.

ferences between the two houses. One may view a third class in the laboratory examining specimens of drinking water which they have brought in from their last visit to the village, and then performing experiments to purify the water. One may find another class preparing to visit the mill, the railway station, the market, or the village. Another class prepares a questionnaire to study the problems of the rural family, or the problems of illiteracy in the villages around the school. Another class is practicing teaching in the elementary school, an adjunct of the rural community school, and another class is busy in games, dramatics, or songs.

Science, agriculture, and hygiene are amalgamated into one unit of study; the problems that the students study in science are mostly from the fields of agriculture and hygiene. Science is thus both applied and socially oriented from the very beginning. The students collect data and specimens of drinking water, swamp water, and irrigating and drainage waters, then investigate to determine what substances and organisms are found in them. They collect specimens of various types of soils in order to make comparisons. They study land reform, and they perform experiments related to irrigation, manures and chemical fertilizers, and control of diseases and pests. They raise poultry, rabbits, pigeons, sheep, and cows, and they study diseases of these animals.

When plant or animal life is studied, social, economic, and human relationships are taken into consideration. The question of relating structure to function is extended beyond its direct biological conceptions. The effect of the natural elements—soil, water, animals, birds, insects, weeds, crops, vegetables, fruits, weather, air, fuel, etc.—on human life, and the relation between man and nature, are initially stressed.

The program of social studies is based upon actual observations in the field. The direct environment is studied functionally. The village is studied as an economic unit. Its production and consumption are studied and related to each other. This leads naturally to the study of Egypt as an economic unit. The interdependence between Egypt and various other countries becomes obvious, even in the village, when the students collect data on the many aspects of the economy. The outside world is viewed in the light of this functional relationship. The study of the soil and its relation to the Nile, the Valley, and the people leads to a general functional study of the Nile Valley, its origin, the agricultural civilization that

arose on its bank 5,000 years ago, and the various means used to harness the torrents of water passing through it.

The social, judicial, traditional, and civic life in the village is studied in its simple functioning and related to the wider systems of administration in the country. The problems of education, health, and economic life are studied in the same way. The various studies and reports are referred to the Ministry of Education and other ministries for use in planning their projects.

Again, arts and crafts instruction is based on studying the method and material used by the farmer in his simple crafts, then working toward bettering the methods. No standards are dictated to the students, but they are assisted in observing and thinking independently. Weaving, building, mat-making, furniture-making, pottery-making, and sculpture are all included in the program. Creative activities in painting, drawing, decorating, planning improvements, and inventing new methods and means are all encouraged. Art itself is considered as a general attitude or a style of seeing and doing things. It is an attitude toward perfection, and is not limited to abstract making of pictures and sculptures, but includes also the solving of problems of architecture, decoration, and furniture-making in simple environments.

The farm is an important feature of the rural community school. Not only agriculture and animal breeding, but also economics, marketing, cooperation, and management are studied and practiced on it. Every student in the school has a piece of land on which he cultivates crops, fruits, and vegetables, and the farm serves the community as a general demonstration farm to which farmers are invited from the villages surrounding the school.

Stone buildings, frame houses, and canvas shelters constitute the permanent camps of the school, in which the students live. Living close to the land with all their teachers, the students live and work in the camp as participating members of a democratic social group. They carry on various projects to improve their own camps, such as cleaning and decorating. The life of the camp itself encourages cooperation, service, social responsibilities, and discipline. The camps are divided into houses and families, and each of these works out new projects different from the others, yet all serve the same purpose of improving the camp and its life to provide real social experience. The students are given every opportunity in the camp to live, plan, and work together in a simple, dynamic, democratic environ-

ment. In this way, democracy is both lived and practiced.

In all studies, the method is scientific and the approach is functional. The method is based on observation, reasoning, and experimentation. The approach is functional in the attitude the students take when studying different problems. They tend to translate their conclusions in terms of activity. In their school life, on the school farm, and in the village itself, they are active both physically and socially.

The school, without deviating from its specific educational function, is a social and educational center in the broadest sense. The interaction between school and environment (physical and social) is considerable. The school is a center from which social change radiates, and an institution for dealing with the vital problems which

confront the Egyptian farmer—in farming methods, control of insects, cooperation, and housing. It is a place from which simple facts about food, water, and sanitation are disseminated.

The leaders of the rural community school hope that in time the teachers and social leaders from this school will carry their attitude to other schools and social centers. Thus, a true tradition may develop, a tradition which grows from the basic elements in the environment and reflects upon this environment whatever nourishment it acquires from education. Rural Egypt is, and will be for a long time, the backbone of the country. A true functional education should lead to a functional life in the country, and the outcome, it is hoped, will be the inevitable raising of the levels of living in the whole country.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Eugene A. Wilkening

The Farmers' Movement, 1620-1920. By Carl C. Taylor. New York: American Book Co., 1952. Pp. vii + 519. \$5.50.

This is an important book. It is important not only to sociologists but to those historians of economic and social events who need to have a well-documented outline of the development of one of the more important facets of American history. However, its significance to sociologists is the orientation of the present review.

Taylor—in what may prove to be his *magnum opus*—has essayed, first, a theory of "social movement"; and second, "laboratory observations of this movement" (p. 491).

His theory is that there is but one "farmers' movement," not many, as other writers have postulated. He states at the outset that—while much has been written about the various revolts and rebellions, crusades and protests of farmers—"historians have, until recently, analyzed each farmers' revolt chiefly in terms of its immediate economic climate. Economists have given little attention to the economic issues involved in farmers' upheavals, and sociologists have not analyzed the common patterns of these types of behavior" (p. 1). He goes on to say that, in practically every decade of the three centuries covered by the study, farmers have "felt impelled to make stern protests against the economic and social conditions under which they lived and worked" (p. 1). "They have at times manifested their discontent in crowds and even mobs, at times in organized political parties, and at times in violent revolts. These protests have all been part of a farmers' movement which consists of more than a series of 'green risings.'"

The title of the volume is therefore significant. There are not farmers' movements, but a farmers' movement. It is one socio-psychological phenomenon, representing a "type of collective behavior by means of which some large segment of a society attempts to accomplish adjustment of conditions in its economy or culture which it thinks are in maladjustment" (p. 1). If public manifestations are forbidden by the particular culture, then either revolutions occur or the maladjustments continue (presumably under suppression). In a democratic society, such as ours, where there is freedom of expression and collective action (the reviewer is speaking), then "movements are to be expected" (p. 2).

Taylor states the thesis of his book as follows: "... The tide of American farmers' discontent has ebbed and flowed with economic conditions and ... the various farmer revolts have been only the high tides of a Farmers' Movement which is as persistent as the Labor Movement. The Labor Movement evolved out of and still revolves around the issues of wages, hours, and work conditions. The Farmers' Movement evolved out of and still revolves around the issues of prices, markets, and credits" (p. 2).

The importance of the book lies not in the historical accounts of more than a dozen specific protests, rebellions, and revolts, over the three centuries covered by the book, but in the attempt Taylor makes to fit these into one fabric of social development. This is not to minimize the importance of the immense historical documentation which has been accomplished in the volume. Of great value are the accounts of Shays' Rebellion (1786); the Whiskey Rebellion (1793); Fries' Rebellion (1799); the tobacco rebellion (1682); the Farmers and Workingmen's Organizations (1829-30); Farmers' Societies and Clubs (1850-1860); the Grange (1867-); the Alliance (1880's); the American Society of Equity and the Farmers' Union (both of which began in 1902); and the Nonpartisan League (1916). These and other developments are given in brief and authoritative fashion. The individual accounts, which include a discussion of the historical and economic backgrounds out of which each incident arose, are valuable sources of information for the student of social history of the rural people of the United States.

To reiterate, the important contribution of this work lies in the attempt Taylor has made to tie all these "episodes" or "high tides" into an organic "social movement." For, while the phrase "social movement" is in common use among social scientists and laymen as well, the definition of the concept is hard to come by. Volumes have been written with "social movement" in the title, but with no serious attempt to define what is meant by the phrase. Even Taylor does not pretend to "present a general theory of social movements so much as a detailed record of a movement which concerned one important segment of our population, the farmers" (p. 12). Yet, in the final chapter, the author seems to be presenting something of a general theory, for he states that "the concepts used here ...

would be useful also in analyzing the American labor and suffrage movements, and probably also in analyzing the Abolition and Prohibition movements. Such concepts separate 'movements' from mere reform and Utopian episodes and ideologies, and from other ideologies which are often called movements only because they gain an increasing number of adherents" (p. 499).

The parallels which the author suggests between the Labor Movement and the Farmers' Movement lead, by implication, to the conclusion that movements represent the protests, rebellions, or revolts of the underprivileged. This probably is not always the case. If the Enlightenment can be called a movement—and here we encounter the old problem of definition—it could hardly be regarded as emanating from the disadvantaged classes.

It seems to come down to this in Taylor's analysis: that a social movement—specifically the Farmers' Movement—is an ongoing socio-psychological phenomenon, of which the various farm organizations are episodic manifestations. The farm organizations (the Grange, the Farmers' Union, the Farmers' Alliance, the Nonpartisan League) represent the "movement" at what he calls "high tide." They are the peaks in the cyclical development, which are followed by the troughs (e.g., the period following 1896). The "movement" goes on over the years, latent at periods, then subject to sharp upheavals when the economic position of the farmer vis-à-vis the rest of society reaches a point of painful imbalance. At such a point the movement comes to the surface, so to speak, and manifests itself in some kind of organized entity. The basis of the Farmers' Movement is the conflict in interest between farmers and certain groups concerned with the market, prices, credit, and transportation. The farmer has always risen against those who stood—or seemed to stand—between him and the ultimate consumer. These have been variously stereotyped as "Wall Street," "middlemen," "the railroads," "bankers," etc. His own conception of his role has been that of "the producer," and, more than that, the producer of the most important things for the maintenance of life. He is therefore sensitive to others' efforts—real or imagined—to exploit him.

Is this conception of a social movement—as something apart from the institutional mechanisms developing from it—open to the charge of mysticism? The question is raised because the concept of culture as being "super-organic" was charged with

being a piece with mysticism. Can there be a movement which is not "corporeal" in some kind of social system? If there is a common basis for most of the organized or unorganized action farmers have taken to protect their interests, is this evidence that there is a kind of molten lava underlying the social agrarian "crust," which, once it finds a crevice, is bound to erupt?

These are questions which are posed as corollaries to Taylor's presentation. It is the reviewer's opinion that Taylor has come closer than any other sociologist to demonstrating this difference between a "movement" and an organization or institution crystallized from that movement. At least we should be clear from reading this book that a movement is not to be regarded as identical with the organized expression of its spirit. Thus, Taylor rightly can say, "The Populist Party [which absorbed the Farmers' Alliance] was more than an agrarian movement, but the agrarian movement of the time was also considerably more than the Populist movement."

This well-written book contains a very choice bibliography and a good index.

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Farm Policies of the United States, 1790-1950: A Study of Their Origins and Development. By Murray R. Benedict. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1953. Pp. xv + 548. \$5.00.

This is the third book within a year devoted to historical aspects of agricultural matters of direct concern to rural social scientists. The other two are: *The Story of Agricultural Economics in the United States, 1840-1932*, by Henry C. Taylor and Mrs. Taylor, and *The Farmers' Movement, 1620-1920*, by Carl C. Taylor. These works complement each other quite effectively. They are very timely and helpful in providing a mass of background information and a useful perspective. Fortunately, all of them are the products of authors of recognized competence. In each case, the development has extended over a period of years and the authors have had access to invaluable library sources and the benefit of competent assistance.

This book by Murray Benedict, while based to some extent on an earlier mimeographed edition, is primarily a forerunner of another volume to be published under the same auspices next year. The second book will present results of a study of gov-

ernmental farm programs made under Benedict's direction. That volume presumably will include much more evaluation analysis than the one under review. What the present volume does is to provide a wide range of background material.

The book opens with a broad review of land policies, which is appropriate in view of the prominence of land questions during the nation's developmental period. The tariff, monetary issues, transportation questions, farm organization developments, and a number of other phases of importance over the years are reviewed. The latter part of the book is concerned primarily with agriculture in the two world wars and in depression.

The numerous references illustrate the care which has gone into the preparation of this volume. Such a book would have been impossible without excellent library resources. Unfortunately, not all of the works cited are readily available. This is particularly true in one section where the author leans heavily on an unpublished thesis.

The book will be particularly useful to agricultural economists and rural sociologists for background reading and review, and as a reference source for information on specific programs. Differences of opinion over selection, weights, and interpretations are to be expected. The companion volume rather than this historical review will stimulate discussion and controversy; its appearance will be awaited with interest.

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Agricultural Origins and Dispersals. By Carl O. Sauer. New York: The American Geographical Society, 1952. Pp. v + 110. \$4.00.

Carl O. Sauer, a distinguished geographer, has for many years been interested in the plants and animals which form the cores of the agricultural complexes through which the world's people extract a living from the soil. In this small volume, prepared as lectures which were delivered at Columbia University in 1952, under the Isaiah Bowman Memorial Fund, Sauer shares with his colleagues in geography and related fields a part of the rich store of knowledge he has acquired about a fundamental subject. In the estimation of the reviewer, there have been few books published during the last five years which so richly deserve to be read and studied by the rural sociologist as does *Agricultural*

Origins and Dispersals. Furthermore, from the standpoint of genuine social theory, it is doubtful if there will be found in the literature a more adequate, clear, and definite statement of cultural determinism than is given in the opening chapter ("Man-Ecologic Dominant") of this small volume. Consider, for example, the following: "Man alone ate of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge and thereby began to acquire and transmit learning, or 'culture.' With each new skill he found in his surroundings more opportunity, or 'resources,' to fashion products of use to himself, to improve his well-being, and to increase his numbers. As environment can only be described in terms of the knowledge and preferences of the occupying persons: 'natural resources' are in fact cultural appraisals. Occasionally, a new idea arose in some group and became a skill and institution. Such innovations might bring out new possibilities of the homeland; it might also give competitive advantage over neighboring folk, and set in motion pressures eased by migration" (pp. 2-3).

In a second chapter, Sauer discusses the "Planters of the Old World and Their Household Animals," and in the third he deals with those of the New World. Chapter IV is a systematic view—in time and space, origin and diffusion—of agricultural plants; and chapter V, the last lecture, is a similar treatment of "Herds and Herdsmen." There are four plates, each of which deserves special comment. The first one maps the origin and dispersal of Old World planting and household animals; the second shows the areas of origin and the routes of diffusion of the essential elements in the two agricultural systems of the New World; the third is devoted to the domestication and dispersal of plants and herd animals in southwestern Asia and north-eastern Africa; and the fourth delineates the cultural hearths and the limits of agriculture and milking as they were about A.D. 1500.

The reviewer has no adverse criticism of the book to offer, but he does have one regret. The author must be in a position to describe in detail the origin and diffusion of the principal implements and other material traits which man uses in extracting a living from the soil. It is to be hoped that Sauer's rich fund of information of this kind will be made available to his fellows before too many years have passed.

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Human Problems in Technological Change: A Casebook. Edited by Edward H. Spicer. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952. Pp. 301. \$4.00.

One of the perplexing problems in social science is that of demonstrating the dynamic interplay of sociological variables within a given context of social organization. The consuming publics for the observations of social scientists frequently call for more than the mere isolation of the variables. These various publics continue to ask for an explanation of what happens when the relevant variables interact to facilitate or to impede some desired set of ends. This reviewer has come to believe that well-chosen case examples make possible such demonstrations, especially in a teaching situation when the students are exposed to social science in only a cursory manner.

Human Problems in Technological Change is a superb collection of fifteen cases, each an example of a given circumstance of social or technological change, or both. These fifteen cases cover a wide range of locales and cultures: Indians of the Southwest, India, Japanese-Americans, a coastal community of Peru, the Eskimo, Micronesia, the Maritime Provinces of Canada, Spanish-American farmers in New Mexico, and, finally, Stone Age Australians.

The varied cultural contexts are matched with an ingenious classification of the cases. Both successful and unsuccessful attempts at change will be found. The fifteen cases are presented in three parts, each successively more complex than the former. Part I includes five cases which deal with the importance of a single factor in introducing, speeding, or impeding change. Part II again includes five cases, but the constellation of relevant factors is more complex. Finally, in Part III, the remaining five cases deal with quite complex examples of change. Yet, in the reviewer's judgment, the most meaningful analyses have been made of the most complex examples.

Each case is developed on the same outline: (1) a statement of the problem; (2) the course of events related to the problem; (3) a statement, called *relevant factors*, which illuminates the important variables that play on the situation; (4) the *outcome* of the attempted change; and (5) an *analysis* by the respective author so that some generalizations may be made about the case. The editor's introduction suggests that students may attempt their own predictions of outcome and make their own analyses, and then proceed to check with

the statements of the author. Interspersed between cases are certain suggestions for study—i.e., the formulation of questions, roles, interviewing, how to find "common elements" in change, and the grouping of problems in technological change. Although these may suggest some methods to the teacher, they are so brief that this reviewer paid them only casual attention.

Seldom could one find so much so well organized in one book: Fourteen able sociologists and anthropologists summarizing examples of change; a wide variety of culture contexts and substantive types of change; successful and unsuccessful examples; and a lucid style of composition. A few of the cases, notably one of introducing soil conservation to the Navajo Indian Reservation, are almost crystal clear in portraying the interplay of a great number of factors, and could serve well in the classroom, in seminars with professional workers, and for orientation of prospective workers in cross-cultural programs.

This reviewer found himself wanting more theoretical formulation of technological change as he moved through the cases. Before completing the fifteen cases, he believed that there was an insufficient framework presented to enable students, at least, to handle *outcomes* and *analyses* effectively. Then, he was surprised to find that the concluding Part IV summarized four basic conceptual tools for analyzing technological change, and that the editor states the need for the user of the book to supplement the cases with his own framework of explanation. The four concepts that are briefly treated in the book are culture, social organization, the innovating role, and cultural bias. Since but few references are made in this final statement to the earlier cases, this reviewer would raise the question whether the conceptual apparatus should not have been placed at the beginning of the book rather than at the end.

Although the respective authors have told much in a brief space, the reader will, at times, find himself going back to *relevant factors* to hunt for the cue which led to a given *outcome* and *analysis*. In such instances, the reader may feel that the author, in knowing so much about the case, was permitting his statements to carry implicit cues which one familiar with the case might get, but one totally unfamiliar might overlook.

In a day of growing export of technological skills to underdeveloped areas of the world, and of concern by social scientists for demonstrating how social factors articulate dynamically in human affairs,

this book is more than just another contribution. Beyond the fact that it was a distinct pleasure to examine this book critically, the reviewer appreciates its appearance as an example of meeting a real need in the social sciences—namely, to bring together for synthesis what we already know, rather than giving only singular attention and moving in new and all directions at once.

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Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers. By Floyd Hunter. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953. Pp. xiv + 297. \$5.00.

This is a report of an empirical investigation of the pattern of power which exists at the policy-determining top of "Regional City," the pseudonym for a United States community of half a million population. Composed of nine chapters, an appendix on method, a helpful bibliography, and a useful index, the book is a valuable and significant contribution to the developing literature of power analysis.

Its first three chapters, giving a theoretical framework, a brief description of the physical location of power, and a short characterization of a few power leaders, set the stage for the primary contribution of the report—chapters three and four. In these two chapters Hunter sketches the power structures—first, of the dominant white community, and second, of the Negro subcommunity. Sociograms and tabular summaries are used to good advantage in supplementing textual description to identify leaders, to depict their relative power positions, to picture their cliques, mutual choices and exclusions, and to contrast them with "under-structure" personnel. There is much rich detail, and it is enhanced by a careful comparison of the two power structures and a suggestive analysis of their interrelationships.

Chapters six, seven, and eight, concerned with the dynamics of power relations in politics, informal associations, and community policy, are somewhat less satisfying. Perhaps because of the relative lack of concepts and theory pertinent to processual analysis, perhaps because of the difficulties of writing realistically about local people while yet fulfilling an obligation to maintain anonymity, these chapters have an anecdotal tone. Nevertheless, much is

revealed about the typical operations of the men of power in the life of this community.

A significant weakness of the volume becomes apparent in the last chapter. Here Hunter seems caught within a dilemma. Up to this point, his emphasis is upon the way in which about thirty leaders (mostly business executives) dominate and manipulate the affairs of some 500,000 people to suit themselves. In view of this, his effort in chapter nine to bolster a sagging faith in power democratically defined and exercised—by suggesting that citizens be active in both economic and political organizations—seems like whistling to keep up one's courage.

To this reviewer, what appears to be needed is a much greater emphasis upon the fact that important community power flows from a large social context—a context which includes, besides the interrelationships of individuals who are leaders, at least such things as popular values and impacts of changing events. For, though power was unquestionably highly centralized in this community, it was not completely the personal property of any one group. Hunter himself (p. 111) refers to the constant watch the men of power keep for "what 'will go' and for what 'will not go' in Regional City." The development of this idea by suggesting types of conditions wherein men of power were or might become relatively "powerless" might have resulted in a more balanced picture.

Other minor weaknesses mar the over-all usefulness of the volume. One has the impression that the book is not carefully written and organized. The presentation of the study's methodology is incomplete and poorly arranged. The brief appendix statement has to be supplemented with scattered textual material in order to put together a not-always-adequate picture of the procedures used, the people interviewed, and the data gathered. Inclusion of the interview schedule would have been helpful.

None of these critical remarks, however, should keep those interested in power or in community organization from reading this work. The book amply achieves its primary purpose: to demonstrate that one can discover and study the "real leaders" of a community and "how they operate in relation to each other."

WILLIS A. SUTTON, JR.

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Child Development: The Process of Growing Up in Society. By William E. Martin and Celia Burns Stendler. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1953. Pp. xxii + 519. \$4.75.

Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study. By John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953. Pp. vii + 352. \$5.00.

The Stepchild. By William Carlson Smith. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. x + 314. \$6.00.

Child Development is designed as a text for a college course in human development. It draws upon work that has been done in anthropology, biology, pediatrics, physiology, psychology, and sociology for conceptual and illustrative materials. The authors' conception of child development, as a process that "is conditioned by the social conditions under which it takes place" (p. xix), is skillfully dealt with in the four parts of the text: "The Child," "Society and Culture," "Socialization," and "Socializing Agents." Part I presents the data on child development from the perspectives of biology and psychology. The other three parts are focused on the child in society. The chapters on socialization are particularly pertinent for sociologists. A critical discussion of the Freudian conceptual scheme is stated in terms the student can grasp; yet, it is a fair appraisal from the viewpoint of the social scientist who understands the roles that society and culture play in the socialization process.

This book should be useful as a sound reference that is understandable at the undergraduate level. However, there are few sociology courses where it could be used as a basic text.

Child Training and Personality is the formal report of the research Whiting and Child have done to test selected Freudian concepts of personality development on cross-cultural materials. It is concerned, on the one hand, with the role of culture in personality development and, on the other, with the effects of personality on culture. The specific problem is: "the extent and ways in which personality processes in individual members of a society determine the integration of the culture" (p. 3). Child-training practices and customary responses to illness are selected as the "aspects of culture which are mediated by principles of personality development" (pp. 3-4). This appears to be an arbitrary

limitation, but the authors had to focus their attention; so we should not criticize them for concentrating their efforts. Why they combined "child-training practices" with "customary responses to illness," however, is not clear.

Difficult methodological problems face researchers in the area of personality development and culture within one society. Far greater problems lie before researchers who attempt to test a theoretical system, especially one as obfuscated as the Freudian conception of personality development, by the use of data collected from many sources by different people for diverse purposes. Whiting and Child were aware of some difficulties when they embarked upon their research; they became sensitive to others as their work developed. They overcame some initial problems by redefinitions of old concepts, such as *habit* and *custom*, to meet their needs; but more difficult problems, such as quantification of qualitative statements from varied sources, were not worked through in a manner that satisfies this reviewer. In short, several methodological problems are unresolved. The authors are aware of this limitation, and take it into consideration in the final formulation of their findings.

Child Training and Personality is a mature attempt to test a theoretical scheme cross-culturally. The task needed to be done, and the researchers have faced their work resolutely and self-critically. Some of their predictions, based upon theoretical assumptions, were not borne out by the data; but this is recorded and reported. Graduate students and faculty personnel will find this a valuable source of ideas and a demonstration of the limitations of the cross-cultural approach in the test of a broad theoretical scheme.

The Stepchild is an eclectic presentation of materials that Smith has accumulated from folklore, poetry, novels, and drama—in our society as well as in other societies—on the relationships of stepparents and stepchildren. Smith views the problem of the stepchild from the facet of the stepparents in Part II, and of the stepchild in Part III. The chapters on the adjustment problems of the stepchild and stepparents are well done and bring into the literature, in a single place, fragmentary materials from many sources. The materials are well presented, but like most eclectic approaches to a problem, more emotional affect is generated in the reader than light is thrown on the problem.

The book should be useful in undergraduate courses in social problems, the family, and child development.

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Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress on Mental Health, Mexico City, December 11th to 19th, 1951. Edited by Alfonso Millan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. xvi + 386. \$5.00.

Mental Health in the United States (The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1953). Edited by Robert Dysinger. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1953. Pp. vii + 174. \$2.00.

The Fourth International Congress on Mental Health was organized on behalf of the World Federation for Mental Health by its member association in Mexico. Convened in Mexico City, in December, 1951, it brought together some 800 registrants from 38 countries throughout the world. The federation itself was founded in London in 1948. One of its general purposes is to promote among all people and nations the highest possible level of mental health in all of its biological, medical, educational, and social aspects. It was in pursuit of this and related goals that the 1951 congress was organized.

Any attempt to review the *Proceedings* of this congress is somewhat like trying to review an encyclopedia. Some 62 topics are included in the subject matter as presented to the congress over a period of 8 days in 7 plenary sessions, 15 technical sessions, and 14 working groups. Forty-eight speakers presented formal papers which are published in full or in summary, together with transcriptions of discussions that followed. The findings of each working group are included in the volume. Appendices include resolutions submitted to the plenary sessions, a roster of individual members of the congress, and other material.

Five major subjects provided the orientation for the congress. These are: contributions of the various professions and of the United Nations to mental health; mental health and children; occupational mental health, rural and industrial; mental-health problems of resettlement migration; and community efforts in mental hygiene. These general subjects were each treated in

formal papers in plenary sessions, and sub-topics were presented in the technical sessions and discussed in round-table fashion in working groups. These groups considered in detail the mental-health aspects of such subjects as race relations, technological impact on rural populations, labor-management tensions, deprivation of parental care, selection and training of teachers, and the place of religion, to mention only a few. Special attention was given to health of the personality in young children, in adolescents, and in aged persons.

While nearly all papers included in this volume are of interest to sociologists, attention is directed to two in particular. One is "Contributions of the Social Sciences to Mental Hygiene," by Erich Fromm (U.S.A.). The other is "Effects of Technical Progress on Mental Health in Rural Populations," by Oscar Lewis (U.S.A.). These and many other papers included in the *Proceedings* indicate that this congress brought new and stronger emphases to the importance of culture and of institutional arrangements for mental-health planning in various countries. Indications are that the world-wide mental-health movement will call more and more upon social scientists for contributions from their specialized knowledge.

The March 1953 issue of the *Annals* turns the spotlight on "mental health in the United States." The object is to point up for the intelligent reader various mental-health problems and to discuss the resources which exist in this country for providing therapeutic and preventive services. This issue contains nineteen original papers, averaging nine pages each, by competent authors. Each writer has a large area of subject matter to cover in a limited space. As a result, the presentations are comparatively free of excess verbiage.

To orient the reader properly, three articles present an overview of the subject; these include an excellent paper on the extent of the problem of mental disorders, by the director of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Following this orientation are six papers describing various categories of mental-health problems. These include the mental deficiencies; disorders associated with disturbance in brain function; schizophrenic and manic and depressive disorders; the neuroses; special problems of infancy and childhood; and mental-health problems affecting social relations.

The third set of papers, seven in number, discuss resources for service. Included as

resources are psychiatrists and other professional workers in the mental-health field, the citizens mental-health movement, state and national public mental-health agencies, hospital services for the mentally ill, local mental-health services, child guidance clinics, and the private practice of psychiatry.

A final set of three papers point directions for realizing community goals. In the first two are discussed policies and procedures for a community-wide attack on behavior disorders, and approaches to primary and secondary prevention. In the third, Lawrence K. Frank accentuates the positive in a discussion of the promotion of mental health.

The editor of this issue, R. H. Dysinger, is to be congratulated upon assembling a series of papers most of which possess a high order of merit. The thoughtful person who wishes a reasonably good introduction to the field of mental health would do well to read and study this issue of the *Annals*.

One shortcoming of this work is its incompleteness of coverage. There is no discussion of psychosomatic illnesses and no systematic presentation of mental-health education and research.

The materials under review here have important implications for the mental hygiene worker. The goals of mental health are stated in terms of the personality needs of all persons, rather than exclusively in terms of the special needs of the mentally ill. Mental hygiene activities are directed toward strengthening the family and other social units or agencies which play major parts in personality development. The need to promote fuller cooperation of all of the professions and of parents and other citizens in building families and communities that are in support of man's mental-health needs is repeatedly and correctly stressed.

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Childhood Experience and Personal Destiny. By William V. Silverberg. New York: Springer Pub. Co., Inc., 1952. Pp. xi + 288. \$4.50.

Many factors have combined in recent years to bring to practicing psychiatrists a wide variety of human problems. Experience with these has led psychiatrists to broaden correspondingly the range of their interests so as to conceive of people in their entirety, what they are like, what

makes them tick, and how and why things go wrong with them. These ideas constitute a theory of personality. The present volume presents such a theory as developed by one psychiatrist on the basis of his experience.

Silverberg, who is clinical professor at the New York Medical College, summarizes his views on personality and neuroses under three main heads: (1) Experiences in the first six years of life are highly formative, for good or ill, and contain most of the qualitative variations of human experience in general. (2) Childhood experiences generate a complex pattern of adaptive potentialities which are at the disposal of the later personality, and may be utilized or inhibited by the individual in meeting or creating the situations of life in later years. (3) Mental illness originates in the adaptations made to traumatic experiences in early life and bears in its details their impress and the child's reaction to them.

Three questions arise about theories of this kind. One grows out of the fact that there is no control group of persons who present no neuroses. Have they possibly had similar traumatic experiences? What were the childhood experiences of persons of sound mental health? Second, has anyone ever proved the relative importance of early childhood experiences? Sewell, in his recently published studies (*American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1952, pp. 150-160), presents data which throw grave doubts upon the general validity of such claims. Similarly, A. H. Hobbs, in his recent book (*Social Problems and Scientism*, The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, 1953), is mercilessly critical of the "heads I win and tails you lose" interpretations of the psychoanalytic cult.

Finally, even if one grants the basic assumptions of the author, that does not involve the acceptance of his specific interpretations. How, for instance, does one validate the concept of "penis envy"? Who shall determine that "a boy's mode of urination gives him an advantage over that of girls"? Has the claim that mental health does not exist without orgasmic potency ever been submitted to statistical verification? How shall one substantiate scientifically that "the male's in-and-out movements in sexual intercourse have a psychic meaning," that "premature ejaculation would seem to relate to vengeful and fearful attitudes toward the mother," or "is often unconsciously intended to deprive the woman of sexual pleasure," or "the result of an excessively hasty compliance with

her supposed demand for semen"? True, many of the author's interpretations are intriguing; others are distinctly unique; some are quite fantastic. All this makes for a certain interest in reading, and, to the members of the cult, constitutes the true gospel. Others will place much of the book in the "interesting if true" category, awaiting empirical determination.

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The Psychology of Personal and Social Adjustment. By Henry Clay Lindgren. New York: American Book Company, 1953. Pp. ix + 481. \$4.50.

Twenty-five years ago this book could not have been written. For Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, Clyde Kluckhohn, Theodore Newcomb, Fritz Redl, Harry Stack Sullivan, and others whose concepts permeate the volume have become creatively articulate only in recent decades.

Twenty years ago the book would have had little place in the average classroom. For courses in psychology and related fields then were still concerned with the various systems of thought, and paid little attention to the individual and his relationships with others.

A dozen years ago the readers of *Rural Sociology* might have been surprised to note such a book reviewed in these pages. For it has been only in recent years that social scientists have become as concerned with man himself as with his institutions.

Just one year ago, this reviewer, personally, would have welcomed this volume. For, when she was asked to teach a course in Personal and Social Adjustment at the New York State College for Teachers, Plattsburgh, she could find no adequate text in the field. In consequence, she was forced to use a plethora of assigned readings that annoyed the students, swamped the librarians, and still fell short of presenting the wealth of pertinent materials in human behavior and mental health.

In less than five hundred pages, Henry Clay Lindgren, who teaches at San Francisco State College, presents the more basic concepts in human personality theory in a meaty, functional, and attractive form that students and teachers alike will welcome.

The scope of the work is broad. The treatment moves from the bases of human behavior, through the dynamic forces that mold and make us, on to practical aspects of communication, education, vocation, and relations between the sexes. It culminates

in an encouraging presentation of mental hygiene principles and practice. Case illustrations, a highly readable style, and copious references add greatly to the appeal and challenge of each chapter.

Here is no flippant "how to win friends" approach, but, rather, a substantial contribution to teaching materials in the area of personal and social adjustment.

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The Art of Human Relations. By Henry Clay Lindgren. New York: Hermitage House, Inc., 1953. Pp. 287. \$3.50.

This book is an attempt to interpret some normal psychology to the general public. It was written on the premise that "... growth in the direction of emotional maturity may be aided if we improve our understanding of ourselves and the people in our lives, particularly if we gain a better understanding of the relations between ourselves and others." It was the desire of the author that the book provide more than just knowledge and information but would lead to "understanding," which is defined as covering not only the ability to identify certain kinds of behavior and relationships, but also the ability to put this knowledge together in a way which makes sense and is useful. The author is relatively successful in his effort.

Lindgren has done an admirable job of adhering to his own admonition that we do not have to be told how to grow psychologically or otherwise, but that we can be helped to grow if we are skillfully guided into becoming aware of the need for growth. There are few admonitions or explicit recommendations in the book. Rather, the reader is given some elementary analytical tools and then an atmosphere is created that motivates the reader to begin to analyze objectively himself and those about him, and some of the human relations involved. The author continually attempts to get the reader to look for the causes and results of various types of human behavior.

Lindgren attempts to explain "How We Got to Be Who We Are," "Why We Behave as We Do," "Why We Strive for Power and Status," "The Struggle to Attain Emotional Maturity," and "Why Other People Are So Important to Us." He states that many of the problems of understanding ourselves and others result from the fact that some causes and purposes of behavior are "Beyond the Limits of Awareness." Other

problems are treated in terms of "Anxiety: Friend or Foe," "Communication and Emotional Maturity," and "The Problem of Freedom."

It is quite possible that the "general public reader" (for whom the book was written) may finish the book feeling that all group activity is restrictive and that conformity and smooth human relations are top-priority goals for which we all should strive. He may be frustrated in analyzing his own problems because all the causes which underlie human behavior are described as multiple and varied; but most of the constructed cases given in the book are very simple and problems are traced to single causes. The reader may feel that human relations are indeed an art (as stated in the title of the book) or based on common-sense knowledge, but certainly not a science, because very little research is given to support the generalizations.

Nevertheless, in terms of the original objective—to interpret normal psychology to the general public—it is a worthy contribution.

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Educational Sociology: A Study in Child, Youth, School, and Community. By Florence Greenhoe Robbins. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953. Pp. xii + 529. \$4.75.

This is a college-level textbook for courses in Educational Sociology. It is based upon the class-discussion or student-participation method of teaching, and is the result of a number of years of experimental teaching at Ohio State University.

The main parts of the text—I. "The Social and Cultural Orientation of the Child"; II. "The Social and Cultural Aspects of the School"; III. "The Integration of the Child, School and Community, or The Community Approach to Education"—show its basic aim to give the future teacher an understanding of the sociological backgrounds of education. It is not, as a result, adapted to giving the student sociologist an adequate understanding of the importance of the educational processes in sociological developments, and obviously was not written from that point of view.

Because it is designed for class participation, much of the text consists of short statements which should be provocative to future teachers, as a basis for their own elaborations and arguments. In places it seems over-outlined because of the great

number of headings and the short text. Chapter IX, "Mass Media of Communication and Children," however, is actually a play built about a discussion meeting of parents and educators, which may be considered an example of what a good class discussion could well work into. Both the teaching and study aids and the lists of selected readings seem adequate.

As an example of the organization needed for a course based on class discussion, the volume is well worth study by teachers in other fields, and should offer many provocative suggestions for the improvement of teaching methods.

JAMES G. HODGSON.

The Library,
Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Publications for the Commission on Financing Higher Education. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951 and 1952.

A Statistical Analysis of the Organization of Higher Education in the United States, 1948-1949. By Richard H. Ostheimer. Pp. xviii + 233. \$2.50.

An Atlas of Higher Education in the United States. By John D. Millett. Pp. vi + 53. \$2.50.

Current Operating Expenditures and Income of Higher Education in the United States, 1930, 1940 and 1950. By William V. Campbell, Robert J. English, and George Lampros. Pp. 97. \$2.50.

State Public Finance and State Institutions of Higher Education in the United States. By H. K. Allen, in collaboration with Richard G. Axt. Pp. xviii + 196. \$3.00.

The Federal Government and Financing Higher Education. By Richard G. Axt. Pp. ix + 295. \$4.00.

Who Should Go to College? By Byron S. Hollinshead. Pp. xvi + 190. \$3.00.

The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States. By Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy. Pp. vii + 254. \$3.00.

Government Assistance to Universities in Great Britain. By Harold W. Dodds, Louis M. Hacker, and Lindsay Rogers. Pp. x + 133. \$2.50.

Financing Higher Education in the United States. By John D. Millett. Pp. xvii + 503. \$5.00.

Student Charges and Financing Higher Education. By Richard H. Ostheimer. (In press.)

Nature and Needs of Higher Education. By the Commission on Financing Higher Education. Pp. xi + 191. \$2.50.

The Commission on Financing Higher Education was established through grants made to the Association of American Colleges by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation. The commission, comprising twelve persons, employed a staff with John D. Millett as executive director. A total of sixteen meetings were held from October, 1949, to July, 1952, when the commission completed its work.

Publications are of three types: brief statements of issues, reports of studies made for the commission, and the final report of the commission.

Three statements were issued: The first, *The Impact of Inflation upon Education* (1951), pointed out the serious financial consequences of rising prices. A second statement, *Financing Medical Education* (1951), analyzed the high costs of education for the medical profession. The third, *Higher Education and American Business* (1952), pointed out the opportunities of business to give financial assistance to colleges and universities.

A total of seven studies in six separate volumes and three staff technical papers were published. Another publication was a staff report of the commission summarizing and interpreting the seventeen different major research projects undertaken and the visitations to institutions of higher education.

The monograph, *A Statistical Analysis of the Organization of Higher Education in the United States, 1948-1949*, explains the new criteria used by the commission staff to classify institutions of higher education. It contains 231 tables, with brief interpretations of each. The commission used criteria different from those used by the U. S. Office of Education. While this difference in no way affects the validity of the data, since the institutions in the commission study included 92 per cent of the students in the Office of Education data, it does make direct comparisons impossible.

An Atlas of Higher Education in the United States is a very interesting series of state maps showing the location of all four-year colleges, universities, and technical schools within each state. Each map

includes: the population aged 15 to 24, the enrollment in the institutions listed, total enrollment in all institutions of higher education, the number of students residing in the state and attending institutions in the state, and the number residing in the state and attending out-of-state institutions. It is thus possible to make numerical comparisons, but it would have been helpful if percentages had also been given for each state in relation to the United States, and for breakdowns within each state.

Current Operating Expenditures and Income of Higher Education in the United States, 1930, 1940 and 1950 includes a total of 193 tables covering almost every phase of income and expenditures for the three sample years. The figures are broken down by type of institution and provide extremely significant data as a basis for analysis and interpretation.

The authors of *State Public Finance and State Institutions of Higher Education in the United States* conclude on a hopeful note: "Past experience suggests that if public institutions demonstrate with skill and energy their real service to the people of the states, the states will respond to their needs." However, in their discussion the authors frankly recognize the problems involved. Although gross expenditures for public higher education have risen sharply, the per cent of total state income used for higher education has decreased from 10 per cent in 1915 to 4 per cent in 1949. In 1913, only 32.9 per cent of all taxes were federal; in 1949, the percentage was 70.7. The per cent going to the state remained relatively the same, the decrease being in the per cent to the local community. Student fees in public institutions have increased to the point where they may be "unpalatable." "Only a broadly based sales tax and a low rate, moderately progressive, net income tax can provide significantly larger revenues for the states. . . . A 50 per cent increase in state appropriations for higher education would mean only a 2 or 3 per cent increase in total state expenditures."

Government programs—past, present, and proposed—in the financing of higher education are carefully reviewed in *The Federal Government and Financing Higher Education*. The pros and cons of various proposals are analyzed and individual judgment as to their relative desirability or undesirability is expressed. No definitive recommendation is made other than that "the development by our colleges and uni-

versities of a clear and consistent conception of the proper role of the Federal government in higher education would significantly contribute to better Federal policies in the years to come."

In *Who Should Go to College?* the author takes the position that higher education should be restricted largely to "students in the top quarter of ability." To assure the attendance of a larger proportion of this group (ideally, 100 per cent), he proposes a federal scholarship program combined with larger donations for scholarships from private sources.

Two studies are included in *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States*. One is a brief but excellent sketch of the history of higher education in the United States; the other is an analysis of issues resulting from the changing emphases upon liberal, professional, and graduate education. In his concluding chapter, Hardy urges as an ideal "a harmony of understanding and belief through a modern search for 'the highest good.'"

The authors of *Government Assistance to Universities in Great Britain* were appointed by the commission and each studied the British system of higher education firsthand. The book contains their separate reports. The consistent thread that runs through all of them is that, although more than 60 per cent of the income to all universities in Great Britain comes from the government, "the tradition of academic freedom within them remains stronger than in any other country of the world."

In the volume *Financing Higher Education in the United States*, the author not only has summarized all of the major research studies carried on by the staff of the commission, but also has broadly interpreted their implications. He concludes that institutions of higher education should seek various forms of economy; that private colleges and universities should "cultivate private benefactions"; and that public institutions "must resolve the complications which will arise from further Federal assistance, provided, of course, the Federal government can be persuaded to offer it. There would appear to be more assurance of adequate support from state legislatures, supplemented by student fees. Nor are public institutions debarred from seeking the assistance of private benefactions as well."

A pertinent question not resolved by these studies or the general conclusions can

be summarized in one word: How? Perhaps another commission might suggest specific answers to this query.

Nature and Needs of Higher Education is an extremely provocative little volume. The commission takes the position that the goal of elementary and secondary education is "to improve the literacy and social competence of the individual," that the goal of higher education is "the development of the intellectual capacities of those possessing unusual talent [defined as those in the upper 25 per cent in intellectual ability] . . . and carry their formal education to the highest level of development of which they are capable." It gives little recognition to the role of higher education in the education of adults. It has no fear of pricing higher education out of the market by additional increases in student fees and suggests a further 50 per cent increase by public institutions. Finally, it concludes that "as a nation we should call a halt to the introduction of new programs of direct Federal aid to colleges and universities," including "expanding the scope of its scholarship aid to individual students." The suggested solutions to the "financial plight" of colleges and universities are, in addition to a further increase in student fees: economy of operation, more private benefaction, and larger state appropriations for public institutions.

The report contains an excellent statement on academic freedom, and a forceful analysis of the need for maintaining diversity as "the key to freedom" through our dual system of public and private higher education. Although realistic in its analysis of the financial problem, the commission firmly believes that our society will support our colleges and universities which "like our churches, are the most venerable of our institutions."

FRANCIS J. BROWN.

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The Scope and Method of Sociology: A Metasociological Treatise. By Paul Hanly Furfey. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xii + 556. \$5.00.

The reviewer differs substantially with the author in regard to some of the primary assumptions upon which this work is based, and also with respect to many of the details, but he welcomes this contribution to the logic and methodology of our discipline. He will adopt the volume as the required text in his advanced course in *Methods of Social Research*.

Metasociology is "an auxiliary science which furnishes the methodological principles presupposed by sociology" (p. 17). Its nature, development, relationship to scientific knowledge in general, and concern with value judgments are treated in the first four of the twenty chapters into which the book is divided. The next four are devoted to "Prolegomena to the Definition of Sociology," "The Definition of Sociology," "Productive Thinking," and "Sources of Error in Productive Thinking," respectively.

Chapters 9 to 19, inclusive, deal with the essentials of the scientific method in sociology. Despite the fact that they rely far more upon formal logic and much less upon pragmatic and empirical approaches than the reviewer believes desirable, these are the portions that he thinks will prove most useful to his students. Their titles, which are fairly indicative of their contents, are: "The Logical Structure of Science," "The Logical Structure of Sociology," "Induction," "Statistical Analysis," "Observation as a Research Technique," "Case Studies of Individuals," "Case Studies of Communities," "The Cultural Approach," "The Experimental Method in Sociology," "Tests, Rating Scales, and Questionnaires," and "The Use of Written Sources." The final chapter is entitled "The Construction of a Sociological System."

Rural sociologists are likely to find the book less interesting and useful than would have been the case if some of the problems they face had figured in the discussions; or if some of the scales, analytical devices, and other research aids they have developed had either been included in the exposition or otherwise integrated into the system. In the extensive footnote references, in which literally hundreds of sociologists (some noted for their research and others not) are cited, the names of rural sociologists are conspicuous by their absence. They are matched in this respect, it may be mentioned, by those who have been devoting their research activities to the field of population. Also serious in the mind of the reviewer is the omission of some of the authorities whom he personally relies upon most in his own studies of the logical methods of science and their application in sociology. In particular he believes it a serious error to prepare a work of this kind without consulting carefully *Essentials of Scientific Method*, by A. Wolf, or at least the article on "Scientific Method" which

Wolf wrote for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

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Social Problems. Fourth edition. By John Lewis Gillin, the late Clarence G. Dittmer, Roy J. Colbert, and Norman Kastler. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc., 1952. Pp. xiv + 496. \$4.25.

This is the fourth edition of a book which has been used many years in social problems courses. The arrangement of the book, subject matter, and treatment differ little from the earlier editions. Two new chapters have been added—one considering problems of urban life, and the other those of rural life.

The authors indicate that they "have continued in this edition our effort to present a comprehensive and balanced analysis of the social problems of contemporary American life." In an easy style and descriptive manner, they present an analysis of social problems without becoming involved in technical and pointless discussions of what is a social problem or a social situation. While the authors make no claim to having the answers to the problems, they do help the student by suggesting some tangible and useful approaches to solving or improving the situations.

Since a purpose of the book is to present and describe problems, it is unfortunate that too often 1950 census information has not been included. The questions and exercises at the close of each chapter, for the most part, seem well directed toward bringing out the salient features as well as stimulating the student to think concerning problem situations in his community and society in general. The authors of a work of this type are confronted with a difficulty of integrating the subject matter; also, because of necessarily limited treatment of a topic, a student might draw hasty conclusions. However, the last chapter, "Factors Affecting Social Adjustment," and the Appendix, "Measuring Facts and Making Them Clear," provide some help concerning these limitations. The book will continue to be a useful text for introductory work in social problems and for students who have limited opportunities for additional courses in this area.

RANDALL C. HILL.

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Social Problems and the Changing Society.
By Martin Neumeyer. New York: D.
Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1953. Pp. ix +
475. \$4.25.

The author of this book is aware of the strengths and the weaknesses of previous social problems textbooks. He does not believe that any particularistic approach can be used in the analysis of social problems, for the causes are interrelated and multifarious. Neither does he desire an eclectic approach, for such an approach does not present an adequate frame of reference. Therefore, the author attempts to use "a comprehensive and synthetic approach."

The title of the book indicates somewhat its frame of reference. Neumeyer sees social problems arising out of social disorganization which involves social change and is undergirded by the social processes of differentiation, excessive competition, and conflict. The Frank and Fuller concept of a social problem is used—viz., a social problem implies an awareness by significant parts of a population that a social value is being endangered and that social action is required.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I sets the stage by a discussion of transitional society and especially changing urban and rural ways of living. Part II considers ten "social problems." These "problems" are problem areas rather than specific social problems. This grouping tends to enhance the synthetic approach and to integrate significant areas into a unified whole. In each problem area the background, causes, extent, and possible measures for control are given. Part III, in two chapters, presents material on social control and planning.

If some criticisms had to be leveled, they would be: the lack of a balanced economic presentation in the chapters dealing with problems of an economic nature; the brief handling of the Taft-Hartley Act; the incomplete presentation of the issues of health insurance; the slighting of many of the problems of the aged; and the omission of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. However, the reviewer did appreciate the inclusion of a chapter on mass communications and the problem of public competence in the evaluation of sources of information.

This book, well documented and with an admirable list of references, ought to find a place as a useful text for the underclass student with very little sociological knowledge. Sociological terms and concepts are

used throughout and, in general, are well explained before being applied.

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Reader in Public Opinion and Communication. Edited by Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz. Enlarged edition. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953. Pp. xi + 611. \$5.50.

The second edition of this volume can more properly be called an expansion rather than a revision of the first edition. All of the readings in the first edition are retained, and about a hundred pages of new material dealing with the measurement of public opinion are added. The additions include ten articles, among them essays by Lazarsfeld, Stouffer, Kornhauser, Katz, and Hansen and Hauser. In the final article, Blumer consigns the pollsters and their work to perdition.

The new materials represent some of the best writings in the opinion field, and their inclusion will make the book even more useful. Unfortunately, adding them as a special section at the end of the book results in some inconsistency in organization of the materials, since some of the articles appearing elsewhere in the volume also consider various aspects of opinion and attitude measurement.

Among the various collections of writings in the field of public opinion and communication, this volume is undoubtedly the best from the standpoint of quality of the materials. But, for a collection of articles selected especially for teaching purposes, suitability of the materials may be quite as important as quality. In view of the fact that the majority of students are undergraduates, with a limited background of training and experience, it seems to this reviewer that some of the materials are not especially appropriate. As an example, the excellent essay by Park, "Reflections on Communication and Culture," is suitable for a graduate seminar in the field of communication but is probably too abstract for the average undergraduate. On the other hand, the article by Berelson, "Communication and Public Opinion," represents an example of writing that is both comprehensible and pertinent to the subject matter of public opinion and communication.

The wealth of excellent material now being published in this field should be an inducement for the authors and publisher to consider a complete revision of the volume at an early date. If such a revision is

undertaken, at least a dozen articles should be replaced by materials more appropriate for a course on this subject.

NOEL P. GIST.

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Gemeindestudie des Instituts für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung (Town Study by the Social Science Research Institute). Darmstadt, Germany: Eduard Roether Verlag, 1952.

Struktur und Funktion von Landgemeinden im Einflussbereich einer deutschen Mittelstadt (Structure and Function of Rural Communities in the Sphere of Influence of a German Medium-sized Town). By Herbert Kötter. Pp. xv + 182.

Landbevölkerung im Kraftfeld der Stadt (Rural Population in the "Magnetic" Field of a Town). By Karl G. Grüneisen. Pp. xii + 113.

Der Nebenerwerbslandwirt und seine Familie im Schnittpunkt ländlicher und städtischer Lebensform (The Part-time Farmer and His Family at the Meeting Point of Rural and Urban Life). By Gerhart Teiwes. Pp. xvi + 196.

These three monographs are reports on parts of a study of the German town of Darmstadt and its surrounding area. The over-all purpose of the study was, in the main: (a) to survey the economic and social life of a medium-sized and severely bombed town and its hinterland; (b) to provide a means for the training of young social scientists in the methods of social research; and (c) to check in particular the applicability of empirical techniques which had been developed in foreign countries. The study was begun at the suggestion of Nels Anderson of the Office of Labor Affairs, HICOG, in February, 1949. All three studies have summaries in English and will be published subsequently in America.

The first two monographs aim to show the influence of Darmstadt on rural communities situated inside its sphere of influence. Four communities were chosen by "purposive selection" for studying the changes caused by Darmstadt's influence.

Kötter's report is specifically concerned with the changes in structure and function of the communities, and Grüneisen's with the influence on the population. Both are made from the premise of a somewhat questionable interpretation of the historical de-

velopment of town-country relations. Kötter (p. 1) maintains that one could say with some reservation that, before industrialization, both worlds (urban and rural) were characterized by a certain amount of separateness. With industrialization and the development of the means of transport, however, the two poles were brought nearer to each other.

This interpretation completely ignores the fact that the original *raison d'être* of most continental towns was their service function for a surrounding rural area, and that town and hinterland usually formed an organic unit. This has been particularly true in Germany. The cleavage between town and country arose through industrialization, with the creation of specialized (mining, manufacturing, export, etc.) towns which had little or no basis for organic connection with their surrounding areas. At a later, third, stage the further development of all means of communication was and is drawing town and country together again.

Another serious shortcoming of the first two studies is that both authors maintain *a priori*, and without even attempting to provide any proof, that all the changes in the rural communities are the result of the influence of a particular town, namely Darmstadt. Here they forget that there exists a functional hierarchy of towns which breaks the direct line of influence of any major center to the smaller ones. In this connection the work of Christaller, in Germany, and of Dickinson and Smailes, in Great Britain, should have been consulted.

One could also raise serious doubts that it would have been possible to isolate the influence of Darmstadt on the communities studied, since they contained a large element of new residents made up of refugees and evacuees (27 per cent of the total population in the four communities studied). Also, it should not be forgotten that changes in agricultural techniques and equipment and a rising level of living in rural areas are in themselves causes of serious modifications in the structure of rural populations and communities.

The report by Teiwes deals with part-time farmers in the area, which he subdivides into those working part time (a) locally as paid workers in agriculture or forestry, (b) as artisans in their communities, and (c) in industry or government service away from their places of residence. Teiwes comes to the conclusion that the part-time farmer is the meeting point between rural-peasant and urban-industrial life, and that he is the "carrier" of both

forms of life. This statement can be correct only for that group of part-time farmers who have found their work in the towns, away from their village residences—i.e., for the commuters. Teiwes judges part-time farming in the area as of considerable national importance owing to its relatively high output (p. 67). However, S. Earl Grigsby, in his English summary, comes to a contrary conclusion: that the inefficient use of manpower and inadequate use of land resources constitute a considerable loss to the total German economy.

All three studies are frankly characterized as "pioneer work," but one cannot help feeling that authors who were trained as agriculturists ought to have had a better grounding in the basic methods and techniques before attempting such rather ambitious socio-economic research.

GUNTHER P. HIRSCH.

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Approaches to Problems of High Fertility in Agrarian Societies. (Papers presented at the 1951 annual conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund.) New York: The Milbank Memorial Fund, 1952. Pp. 171. \$1.00.

This publication makes available, for general use, the prepared papers on various aspects of human fertility which were presented at the 1951 annual conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund. The participants were mainly from the fields of economics, sociology, cultural anthropology, education, public health, and demography. In a foreword to the publication, written by Frank G. Boudreau, M.D., and Clyde V. Kiser, the reader is informed that virtually all participants took part in the informal discussion that followed the papers.

The conclusions reached in the discussion appear to be of greater significance in terms of future programs of social action than any one of the prepared papers. As reported by Boudreau and Kiser, most of the participants concluded that the rank and file of the people in underdeveloped areas are not yet ready for contraceptives regardless of price, simplicity, or effectiveness. To bring about a change in this situation, the participants agreed that public education would have to become more general and desire for higher levels of living more widespread; this "stupendous task" cannot be done by outsiders, but must be carried out chiefly by the people themselves.

The first paper, by Rupert B. Vance, discusses the "demographic gap"—the widen-

ing spread between fertility and mortality which appears to accompany "... all modernization programs which involve industrialization, technical assistance, and the spread of science and the applied arts."

The ten other papers have been grouped under three general topics: cultural bases of agrarian fertility patterns, means of fertility control, and implications for research and policy. As is usual in a collection of papers on a general subject, these papers are of uneven quality and differ widely in content.

The papers by Paul K. Hatt and Wilbert E. Moore present the results of completed research on human fertility conducted in Puerto Rico and Mexico, respectively. The paper by Irene B. Taeuber and Marshall C. Balfour, M.D., presents an analysis of official Japanese statistics. Millard Hansen describes plans for further family research in Puerto Rico and John D. Durand gives plans for similar research in India. N. V. Sovani, a native of India, discusses cultural factors considered to be responsible for the existing pattern of fertility in Hindu society. Arthur Bunce presents his impressions concerning the economic and cultural bases of family size in Korea. Clair E. Folsome, M.D., describes the progress and prospects of the search for methods of birth control, with special reference to methods that might be suitable in agrarian societies. Warren S. Thompson outlines the type of knowledge he considers necessary for an adequate approach to the problem of high fertility in agrarian societies. In the final paper, Marshall C. Balfour discusses some of the administrative problems that have been encountered in providing technical assistance to the people of underdeveloped areas.

Although none of the papers was written by a person who has been active in the field of rural sociology, this publication will undoubtedly be of considerable interest to rural sociologists, since it deals with an important aspect of human behavior in societies that are not yet fully industrialized.

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China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations. By Hsiao-tung Fei. Revised and edited by Margaret Park Redfield, with Six Life-Histories of Chinese Gentry Families Collected by Yung-teh Chow and an Introduction by Robert Redfield. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. v + 290. \$5.75.

During 1947-1948, years of political unrest and changes in government in China, Fei, of Tsinghua University, published a series of essays for the Chinese press. He translated seven of these for Margaret Redfield when she was in China, and she has now revised and edited them for the English-reading public.

In the Introduction, we are told that the first four essays deal with "the functions of the scholar and the gentry in the traditional Chinese society," while "the relations of the country and city" are discussed in the last three. The changing position of the gentry, or "scholar-official"—from one of passive interest in the political hierarchy to an active and integral part of officialdom—is traced historically, showing the influence of Confucian ethics and philosophy upon the gentry. Since the preparation for this role means intensive studies of classical literature, the pursuit of technological knowledge is neglected. Fei goes on to describe the power structure and livelihood in rural China, which appears to be losing its talents and human resources to the urban areas. Only new leadership and reform will correct this.

The second part of this book contains six case histories of the gentry class collected by Yung-teh Chow, in Yunnan, between 1943 and 1946. These highly readable life histories serve to accentuate many of the points brought up by Fei.

This volume is not one which can be browsed easily, because numerous footnotes explaining certain Chinese expressions hamper continuous reading by one who is not familiar with these terms. Nevertheless, the footnotes are instructive and add considerable general interest to Fei's thoughtful and critical essays on the social problems which confront a changing China. Margaret Redfield is to be commended for bringing them to our attention.

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BOOK NOTES

by the Book Review Editor

Research Previews. Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2, 3 (March, April, May, 1953). Issued occasionally by the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. (Free.)

This new mimeographed publication, in an attractive, colored cover, is edited by W. Dwight Weed. It presents, in semi-popular style, highlights and summaries of

findings from current and recent research studies supported by the institute. It also carries news of research seminars and conferences, institute policies and plans, publications, projected research, and other social science matters. This is an interesting new technique for informing colleagues and potential users concerning university research activities. One is impressed with the number and variety of activities underway at this important center for social science research.

Farm Management Analysis. By Lawrence A. Bradford and Glenn L. Johnson. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1953. Pp. xii + 438. \$5.75.

This text in farm management combines the "traditional" with the so-called "new" approach to teaching farm management. This new approach regards social values and the psychological properties of the manager as relevant aspects of farm management. Problems of learning, obtaining information, integrating individual and family values, and dealing with personalities involved in farm operation are presented as areas of concern in farm management. This approach suggests points in the economic institution of farming where the sociologist and the psychologist can contribute.

Theory of Markets and Marketing. By Henry H. Bakken. Madison, Wis.: Mimir Publishers, Inc., 1953. Pp. xi + 362. \$6.00.

Drawing upon the disciplines of economic history, law, and institutional economics, Bakken presents "in broad outline a general theory of the evolution of market institutions, their structure, purpose, functions and inherent characteristics." Evidence is presented for the consideration and study of marketing functions as separate from production functions. A section on the historical origins of markets, beginning with trade in primitive societies, is evidence that economic behavior is in part a product of a combination of historical and cultural forces.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Amazon Town: A Study of Man in the Tropics. By Charles Wagley. New York: Macmillan Co., 1953. Pp. xii + 305. \$5.00.

- Folklore Fellows Communications* Nos. 134, 135, and 143: *Der Weidegang im Volksaberglauben der Finnen*. By A. V. Rantasalo. Soumalainen Tiedeakatemia, Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- Die Vorbereitungen für das Viehau-treiben* (1945). Pp. 128.
- Die Hinaus Führung des Viehes auf die Weide* (1947). Pp. 335.
- Viehuten und Weidegang* (1953). Pp. 245.
- The Game of Death: Effects of the Cold War on Our Children*. By Albert E. Kahn. New York: Cameron & Kahn, 1953. Pp. viii + 256. \$3.00.
- Population Problems*. New fourth edition. By Warren S. Thompson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1953. Pp. xiii + 488. \$6.50.
- Sample Survey Methods and Theory*. By Morris H. Hansen, William N. Hurwitz, and William G. Madow. New York 16: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1953. Vol. I. *Methods and Applications*. Pp. xxii + 638. \$8.00. Vol. II. *Theory*. Pp. xiii + 332. \$7.00.
- The Troubled Mind*. By Beulah Chamberlain Bosselman, M.D. New York 10: Ronald Press Co., 1953. Pp. vi + 206. \$3.50.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by T. Wilson Longmore*

New York Farmers' Opinions on Agricultural Programs. Edward O. Moe. Cornell Univ. Ext. Bull. 864, Ithaca, N. Y. 62 pp. Nov. 1952. Price, 10 cents.

This is a report on a survey of New York farmers' opinions about seven major agricultural programs: Agricultural Experiment Stations, Cooperative Extension Service, Production and Marketing Administration, Soil Conservation Service, Farmers' Home Administration, Rural Electrification Administration, and Federal Crop Insurance. The idea for the survey, jointly launched by top state administrators in agriculture and education, was turned over to a Study Committee of rural sociologists (Olaf Larson and Edward Moe) and agricultural economists (M. C. Bond and L. C. Cunningham) for development and execution.

The procedure was for the Study Committee, aided by various specialists and technicians, to: (a) identify the major problems in the programs and policies of the selected agencies, largely on the basis of consultation with the administrators of the agencies concerned; (b) formulate questions to find out whether the prospective informants "had heard of or knew about" an agency or program and whether they "had participated in" or made use of it, to learn what "opinions" were held about it, and "to get farmers' suggestions for changes and improvements in the programs"; (c) test the questions with farmers; (d) check again with the administrators; and (e) revise the questionnaire, again test it with the farmers, and put it in final shape for field use.

Master Sample of Agriculture maps were used in drawing a random sample of 750 small areas throughout the open-country portions of the 56 agricultural counties in the state. An interviewer instruction manual was prepared and used in training the county agricultural agents in regional interview-training sessions, and they then trained vocational agriculture teachers in their own counties to do the same type of interviewing. The agents conducted 30 per cent and the teachers 70 per cent of the interviews.

It was decided to interview only farmers who received one-half or more of their income from farming, and there proved to be 1,500 of these farmers in the sample areas drawn. The county agricultural agent re-

viewed the schedules from his county and sent the completed schedules to the Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell for final processing and analysis.

Although the findings from this study have been used previously and publicized in various ways, the present report is aimed at "the people of the State" so as to "promote democracy in agriculture." This accomplishment is claimed, since studies of this type are supposed to "take the problems directly to the farmer and the findings are available to all groups for planning and action" (p. 62).

On the whole, in the reviewer's judgment, here is a valuable study, carefully conceived, competently executed, readably reported, and generally worthy of emulation. Although this writer could hardly be more in sympathy with the objectives stated and the approach employed, it still may be desirable to call attention to a few major methodological issues which have policy significance, not only for agricultural programs in New York but for studies of this type done elsewhere. The big question always is: How do we get the most significant data with the limited resources available? The report indicates that the methodological choices made in this study were quite deliberate, but the resultant restrictions upon the data obtained and their valid implications do not always seem to be adequately acknowledged.

First, although many of the topics dealt with are of as much concern to farm women as to men, women were not interviewed. In fact, the entire research operation seems to have been exclusively a male activity, with women appearing on the scene only when the study findings were to be interpreted and applied. One wonders how New York farm and nonfarm women felt, at that stage of the game, about their not having been consulted in this study on such matters as homemaking and family life research, the Home Bureau, the 4-H Club program, the Farmers' Home Administration, and the Rural Electrification Administration. Technical problems multiply when women are consulted as well as men, but they can and must be overcome if "democracy in agriculture" is to be promoted.

Second, there are an unspecified number of New York farmers excluded from the study on the basis of the income criterion used. In some matters of agricultural policy, the unrepresented open-country dwellers have as big a stake as those represented

*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

by the sample, who were practically all commercial farmers and largely (80.4 per cent) concerned with dairy products as the principal or secondary enterprise. Non-commercial farmers and their families count very satisfactorily in the farm population figures when it is advantageous to include them; they also vote and pay taxes. Even among the commercial farmers interviewed, most (70.3 per cent) said Extension should increase efforts to help small operators, and almost a third (29.8 per cent) said the same regarding part-time farmers.

Third, the procedure followed in the development of the interview schedule failed to allow for sufficiently sensitive and flexible exploratory work before the basic structure of the interview was agreed upon. Consequently, we have it reported, on the one hand, that 6 out of 10 farmers volunteered opinions on a subject dear to their hearts, even though "there was no specific question on this point in the survey," and on the other hand, strangely enough, "9 out of 10 said the questionnaire used in the survey gave them the opportunity to say what they thought about farm programs." It seems unfortunate that one of the most significant findings yielded by the study should be based on volunteered opinions rather than on a standard question formulation, developed from the more non-directive initial exploratory interviews. This double-barreled finding is phrased as follows: "Farmers felt that they should participate in decisions that affected their welfare, and that there should be more local control of farm programs" (p. 9).

Fourth, and closely related to the preceding point, the interview procedure called for reactions to questions on specific programs and policies *first*; and only when these had been covered was the general type of question raised (p. 50): Were there "any other problems" affecting the informant "about which something ought to be done"? It is impossible to learn, accordingly, what problems were currently uppermost in the farmer's mind, since his thinking in the interview situation had been directed along numerous predetermined lines before a relatively free response was called for. And by that time, of course, the respondent was no longer capable of genuine spontaneity of reaction on any subject.

Finally, even though this is an Extension bulletin, hence not written primarily for specialists such as the readers of *Rural Sociology*, it is regrettable that we are not supplied with the entire interview schedule,

together with instructions on introductory remarks, and any other controlled procedures. Nobody can know with precision what *N* per cent of New York commercial male farmers, largely dairymen, claimed to think, feel, know, or have experienced regarding *X* agricultural program or policy unless the specific questions in their contexts are made available. (And maybe not even then, but that much would help.) In view of the fact that 60 per cent of the 1,500 farmers interviewed in this study volunteered their own keen interest in "democracy in agriculture" (in their own terms), and since the random sample survey based on personal interviews employing uniform procedures and questions is one of democracy's most promising technical tools, perhaps even Extension bulletins should be designed, in part, to increase the sophistication of farmers—along with the citizens generally—on the pitfalls of polling. The general reader might well benefit, along with the technician, if schedule reproduction were more standard procedure in the reporting of studies of this type.

EDGAR A. SCHULER.

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Detroit, Michigan.

Farms and Farm People—Population, Income and Housing Characteristics by Economic Class of Farm. U. S. Dept. Agr., Bur. Agr. Econ. and Bur. Human Nutrition and Home Econ., and U. S. Bur. of the Census, Washington, D. C. 98 pp. June 1953.

The stated purpose of this report is "to bring together data to show characteristics of the farm-operator families, their housing, and other items including amounts and sources of family income by farm characteristics particularly economic class of farm and net cash income of farm families." This task was accomplished by matching individual records of the 1950 Censuses of Agriculture and of Population and Housing, which were taken simultaneously. The data presented here are estimates based upon a sample of approximately 11,000 farms. The correlated tabulations were supervised by the Bureau of the Census, and the analyses were made by staff members of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics.

The first chapter of the report, written by Jackson V. McElveen, deals principally with low production farms—farms that had sales of farm products amounting to less than \$2,500 in 1949—which make up 60 per cent of all farms counted in the 1950 Cen-

sus of Agriculture. For many of these operators, income from the farm is only a supplement to income obtained from off-farm work. However, more than four-fifths reported total family cash income of less than \$3,000.

In the second section of this report, Ernest W. Grove analyzes the income of farm-operator families in terms of the economic class of farm. The operators' income from farming and from other sources, and income of other family members are presented. An important feature of this section is in the discussion of the possible reasons for inconsistencies in the income data derived separately from the Census of Agriculture and the Census of Population.

Helen R. White's section on "Population in Farm-Operator Households" is probably of most traditional interest to rural sociologists. Her analysis of the age structure of the farm-operator group and their families by economic class of farm shows that, "insofar as gross value of products sold is an indicator of the income available to the household, those farm-operator households least able to support a large number of dependents have the largest ratios of persons in the dependent ages to persons in the working ages." Standardized fertility ratios show the expected inverse relationship between fertility and gross value of products sold, although part-time and residential farms fail to fit into this pattern. Education, labor force status, and occupation of farm family members are other characteristics presented.

The last section of the report, written by Barbara B. Reagan, is concerned with "Housing Facilities and Equipment, and Home Food-Production Practices of Farm-Operator Families." Correlated data indicate that the size of dwelling and the percentage of farm homes with certain facilities and selected equipment increases with an increase in the size of the commercial farm operation. Part-time and residential farms do not fit this pattern but fall generally between Class IV and Class V commercial farms. Tabulations of housing by total family income show the same relationships.

In addition to the summaries of the most important points, each section of the report contains detailed tabulations of the basic data. These undoubtedly will help rural sociologists to present a more rounded, a more nearly "3-D," portrait of the

rural American family than was possible formerly.

ROBERT G. BURNIGHT.

University of Connecticut,
Storrs, Connecticut.

Facts about Florida's Older Population.
Retirement Research Division, Florida
State Improvement Commission, Res.
Rpt. 4, Tallahassee. 41 pp. June 1953.

This report will probably be of considerable interest, especially to Florida citizens, and among them, those in particular who know very little about the problems of aging and the mass of data that is being accumulated in that field. It is extremely difficult for any other state to produce publications that can remotely compare with the excellent work of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on the Problems of the Aging, headed by Thomas C. Desmond. Likewise, it is difficult for any state to produce publications as full of vital information as is the Federal Security Agency's *Fact Book on Aging*, published in 1952, or *The Economic Problems of an Aging Population*, published in January, 1953, by the Joint Committee on Railroad Retirement Legislation (83rd Congress) as Part Two of Report Number 6. Nonetheless, it would seem that there should be available more facts about Florida's older population than have been included in this publication of the Florida State Improvement Commission.

The report relies mostly on information supplied by the United States Census, and little seems to have been done in the way of serious research on the problem in the state of Florida, in spite of the three very fine national conferences upon problems of the aged that have been held there. Although this report refers to a few studies which have been conducted within the state, the references are made in such a way as to make it impossible for the reader to evaluate the studies. For example, five studies were made among older people in five Florida communities, and the conclusions of those studies are used as the basis for some of the comments in this report; however, it is not stated whether the studies took in all of the older people in these communities or only a sample, how the sample (if any) was drawn, or the total number of people interviewed.

Other weaknesses in the presentation of the data could be pointed out: pages 3 and 5, presenting county data on the per cent of the population which is white and colored and the per cent of older persons in

each part, make use of a complicated circle-chart presentation. Each circle is made to present too much data for quick interpretation by the reader, the size of the various circles is difficult to judge (a common weakness of the use of circles in charts), and the counties are not named.

The report is of value, however, in that it does show that the percentage of older people in Florida is increasing quite rapidly, and faster than that for the United States as a whole; that these older people do not in general have very substantial incomes; that the percentage of recipients of old-age assistance among the older people varies greatly from one county to another; and that these older people in general seem to be particularly subject to the "degenerative" type of disease.

WILLIAM G. MATHER.

Pennsylvania State College,
State College, Pennsylvania.

Studies in the Population of Connecticut:

1. *Population Growth, 1900-1950.* Robert G. Burnight and Nathan L. Whetten. Conn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 288, Storrs. 48 pp. July 1952.

First in a projected series of reports, this bulletin is concerned only with the growth of the population of Connecticut since 1900. Included in the study is an intensive analysis of changes occurring during the 1940-50 decade, made in terms of the three dynamic components of population change—recorded deaths, recorded births, and the residually estimated net migration. These data for the decade 1940-50 were compiled by the State Bureau of Vital Statistics.

The half century just past was characterized by a steady decline in the crude birth rate, for which credit is given to the control of communicable diseases and infant mortality. Crude birth rates, holding steady to World War I, decreased during the depression and then increased, reaching a peak in 1947.

During the 1940-50 decade, the excess of births over deaths accounted for an increase of 177,340 persons in the population of the state, and net migration into the state accounted for an increase of 120,698 persons. Thus natural increase accounted for 59.5 per cent of the increase, and net migration, 40.5 per cent. The proportion of population increase resulting from net migration was larger for Connecticut than for any of the neighboring states.

Within the state the highest rates of population increase, 1940-50, due to migration, were in the rural towns. This was true in

spite of the fact that farm population continued to decrease. Thus urbanization of the country towns, noted in earlier studies by Whetten, has proceeded to the place where nearly the entire state feels the effects of urbanization in terms of an increasing nonfarm population which shows mostly industrial characteristics. The rural nonfarm population of Connecticut is now larger than the population of the urban fringe. These and other changes are presented in detail in this bulletin.

Connecticut is a state in which intensive population researches have been carried on for twenty years. This is a valuable addition to what has gone before. Possibilities for minor methodological improvements will occur to the experts, but they would not change markedly the results shown. One wonders how population changes in Connecticut were influenced by developments in other states. The need for a regional approach is indicated clearly. One also wonders why the authors did not follow up their early intent and state some of the specific implications of their findings. It is to be hoped that these questions of meaning will be a feature of their subsequent publications.

RAY E. WAKELEY.

Iowa State College,
Ames, Iowa.

Illness in the Farm Population of Two Homogeneous Areas of Missouri. Robert L. McNamara. Mo. Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bull. 504, Columbia. 31 pp. July 1952.

One of the fields of sociological research in rural health is that of delineating sickness areas and types. Research sociologists as well as researchers in other fields have used many approaches in determining the extent of illness that exists among various population groups. Among these approaches are (1) the "symptoms" approach; (2) the medical-care-expenditure approach; (3) the medical-care-use approach; and (4) the amount-of-sickness approach.

The author, using the fourth approach, obtained information on disabling illness of members of farm families on the day of the interview. (*Disabling illness* is illness keeping a person from work, school, or other usual activity.) In addition, he obtained information concerning disabling illnesses during the month of the interview and during the first and second calendar months preceding the interview. This latter information was obtained because short-term acute illnesses may not be

present on the day the enumerator calls, while the chronic condition would be reported whenever an interview takes place. McNamara estimates, on the basis of reports of disabling illness obtained, a marked degree of underreporting for the calendar months preceding the months of household enumeration.

An effort was made to obtain and study reports of illnesses that caused discomfort and inefficiency, but were not of sufficient seriousness to affect daily tasks in a major way. Definite loss of a day from work because of illness yielded more consistent results than a count of persons indisposed though still doing regular work.

An important contribution of this research bulletin is statistical evidence that a sample of 200 families in a relatively homogeneous population of 50,000 farm people would have been adequate for reliable estimates.

McNamara's finding that at least 5 per cent of the people are unable to work on a given day because of disabling illnesses is similar to findings in the National Health Survey (1935-36), for rural counties in Michigan and Missouri (4.9 per cent for villages under 2,500 and open country, and 4.6 per cent for open country only). It would be interesting if the Missouri investigator would borrow and analyze schedules collected in the three Missouri counties completely covered in the National Health Survey. (Very little use has been made of the data collected in rural areas in the National Health Survey, since rural areas in only three states were included—too few to be representative of all rural areas.) Two of the counties (Linn and Livingston) that were included in the present study were included in this earlier survey.

The author's finding that illness has a significant relationship with level of living is in accord with findings of other investigators.

DOROTHY DICKINS.

Mississippi State College,
State College, Mississippi.

Rural Teachers in 1951-52. Research Division, National Education Association, Res. Bull. Vol. XXXI, No. 1, Washington, D. C. 63 pp. Feb. 1953. \$0.50.

The research division of the NEA was created in 1922 for the purpose of conducting scientific studies of special interest to members of the teaching profession. It publishes research bulletins, like the present one, four times a year. This February

1953 report on rural teachers should be of special interest to educational sociologists. It is a quantitative study based largely on response to an 8-page questionnaire from 4,266 teachers in the open rural areas and in small communities throughout the 48 states. It contains information regarding various personal factors of teachers, their professional training and experience, living conditions, job conditions, conditions affecting instruction, and income and expenditures. Teachers in 1-teacher schools are compared with those in 2- and 3-teacher, 4- to 10-teacher, and over 10-teacher schools. Wherever possible, the present status of teachers is compared with findings made by this agency in 1939 and in 1936-37; also comparisons are made by regions. The descriptions and analyses are supported by 46 tables.

Repeatedly, factual evidence indicates that the smallest schools and school districts have the greatest number of sub-standard school conditions. They tend to have the least money per classroom unit, the greatest number of unsatisfactory buildings, the most inadequate equipment, and the most meagerly trained teaching staff. In view of the present shortage of teachers and the need of an increasing number, this survey indicates where amends are necessary before the smaller schools become as alluring as the larger ones.

One of the more important sociological changes in the rural teaching force during the past 15 years, possibly for the better, has been the shift from a group of workers that was predominantly single to a group that is predominantly married. This shift began during the teacher-shortage period of the war and postwar years when so many former teachers were enticed back into teaching.

This report shatters a number of mistaken ideas as to where and the way rural teachers live. For example, the typical rural teacher no longer lives with parents or other relatives, and few live in rooming and boarding houses. Many have dependents and maintain their own households, with access to most of the facilities and conveniences of modern living. However, over a fourth of the elementary teachers live in places that do not have an indoor toilet, bathtub, or shower; a fifth do not have running water; and over a third do not have a telephone. No wonder rural teachers are "rolling stones." A much smaller percentage of elementary-school teachers than of secondary-school teachers live within their district.

Rural secondary-school teachers live somewhat better than those in the elementary schools. They are more likely to have access to audio-visual aids and adequate library facilities, and are relieved of custodial duties.

Virtually every item in the report points up the desirability of reorganization of school districts. In every respect, schools of more than ten teachers manifest distinct advantages over smaller schools. Pupils are the real victims of outmoded school districts. The formation of rural community and county school districts and schools in recent decades in parts of many states has greatly reduced inequalities for both pupils and teachers. Much remains to be done in most of the 26 states in which pupils are not members of their own school district throughout their educational climb from kindergarten to at least the twelfth grade.

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Farmers of the Future: A Report of the Columbia University Seminar on Rural Life. Edited by Sloan R. Wayland, Edmund deS. Brunner, and Frank W. Cyr. Bur. of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York. 85 pp. 1953.

Readers of *Rural Sociology* are already familiar with the work of the Columbia University Seminar on Rural Life, chiefly through the four earlier reports. The seminar, as its chairman Frank W. Cyr states in a preface to the present publication, is composed of faculty members and graduate students from various departments of the university, and individuals outside the university "who are deeply concerned about rural policy."

Farmers of the Future, then, is composed of "seminar papers" by some of the members of the seminar, as follows: "Basic Rural Trends and the Farmer of the Future," by Sloan R. Wayland; "Significance of Rural Population Trends for the Farmer of the Future," by Charles P. Murphy; "Economic Trends and Assistance to Low-Income Farm Families" and "Economic Trends and Assistance in Acquiring and Transmitting Family-Farm Units," by Leonard Hastings Schoff; "Transmittance of Farm Units from One Generation to the Next," by George B. Van Everen; "Changes in Farm Technology and the Farmer of the Future," by Willard Jacobson; "Changing Patterns of Rural Social Organization," by Edmund deS. Brunner; "Cooperation and the Farm-

er of the Future," by Valery J. Tereshenko; and "Education for the Farmer of the Future," by Frank W. Cyr.

The listing of these topics conveys an idea of the contents. The discussions of these topics—as the authors intended—do not answer all of the questions implied. Each author has, for the most part, posed problems growing out of his discussion of trends. These trends are familiar to most persons who are concerned in their professional duties with the study of rural life. In most cases, the writers have tried to point out the implications of the trends for public policy. For example, Schoff proposes the HOPE plan for "distributed risk in acquiring farms," and repeats another formerly published proposal, called the Labor-Mobility Assistance Program (LMA), to promote the relocation of farm families from farming to nonfarm occupations. Brunner makes a proposal that some of the larger church bodies with endowment funds invest part of them in farm mortgages "with the intent of making it possible for Christian young men to become owners and operators of family farms."

This publication should be especially valuable to place in the hands of laymen to acquaint them with some of the trends and problems of the rural population.

LOWRY NELSON.

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Regular Hired Workers on Commercial Dairy Farms in Connecticut, April, 1950–April, 1952. Robert G. Burnight, Walter C. McKain, Jr., and Paul L. Putnam. Conn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 267, Storrs. 40 pp. Jan. 1953.

This bulletin reports information regarding the size of the regular working force, conditions of employment, labor losses and turnover, and effects of losses and turnover on large dairy farms in Connecticut. The information was obtained by field interviews with a state-wide probability sample consisting of 345 dairy farm operators who had 20 or more cows and who had used some regular hired workers during the two-year period. A list of such milk producers was available from state-required registration.

The need for the study grew out of the following situation: (a) the population of Connecticut grew 17 per cent while milk production increased only 11 per cent during the last decade, necessitating importation of more than a fifth of the state's fluid milk supply since 1946; (b) while dairy

farming is the chief agricultural enterprise in the state, manufacturing is distributed widely throughout the state and competes for labor; (c) the higher wages paid in manufacturing were believed partly to account for the failure of the dairy farmers to keep pace with the increased market for milk products; (d) farmers and farm organizations in the state have become concerned over the situation.

There were many practical findings. Approximately half of the farm operators had lost one or more workers during the two-year period. About three-fourths of the vacancies had been filled. In only half of the cases where replacements had not been made had the farm operator tried to find another laborer. Failure to replace laborers seldom resulted in changes in farming operations, but where changes were made, the most frequent pattern was that of reduction in the size of operations. In approximately two-thirds of the cases, operators felt the replacements were as good as or better than the laborers who left. Two-thirds of the laborers who left had done so voluntarily.

There were also several findings of theoretical importance. The median cash wage for the farm laborers studied was \$164 and the median work week was about 65 hours. Such working conditions must be less attractive than industrial employment. This was only partially offset, in all probability, by the fact that workers were given vacations with pay, usually one week, on slightly over half of the farms. Perhaps more of the differential in working conditions and wages was made up by the 78 per cent of jobs which included housing. Even so, it is surprising to find so few workers leaving, if one is to take the position, extant in lay thinking, that the economic aspects of the job are all-important. The fact of this many workers leaving or changing farms in such a short period would be of paramount importance as it relates to the practical problem of a delicately balanced labor force. But in understanding the motivation of members of the labor force generally, one obviously needs more facts than wage and working-condition information. For example, of the 80 per cent of the laborers who left their farm jobs and on whom information was obtained, only one-fifth went into manufacturing, while about one-tenth entered the armed services and the remainder took jobs on other farms. Furthermore, over 40 per cent of the laborers (total sample) had worked 15 or more years on the farm. In the hands of policymakers who were greatly concerned with

the practical importance of the findings, the information could easily be overgeneralized to be presented as an explanation of workers' motivation. Of course, the authors do not fall into such a fallacy. They have accomplished an intelligent report of a well-conducted research.

CHARLES E. RAMSEY.

University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Utilization of Rural Manpower in Eastern Kentucky: A Study of Economic Area 8. Robert E. Galloway and Howard W. Beers. Ky. Agr. Expt. Sta. RS-3, in cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ., USDA, Lexington. 55 pp. Jan. 1953.

Studies of agricultural manpower problems are being made by several of the state agricultural colleges in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The present report, it is stated, is the first in a series pertaining to the utilization of manpower to be conducted in Economic Area 8 in Kentucky.

The report is based primarily on data obtained in personal interviews covering 333 households in the open country (outside places of 100 population or more) and comprising about one per cent of the families in that segment of the area. The selection of families is described as "... a single-stage, geographically stratified random sample of 59 area segments ... varied in size from 3 to 10 dwellings ...". The sampling method is not further described nor the results compared with the traits of open-country Area 8 that would give some basis for the appraisal of representativeness.

The expressed objectives of the present unit of the series are: "... to obtain additional and more detailed information as to the composition and characteristics of the population and labor force, the work experience, training, and underemployment of the labor force, and other items pertinent to exploration of the possibilities of fuller utilization of manpower resources in the area." The characteristics of the survey population, the amount of labor of the head and other family members (1951-52), and the nonagricultural work experience (1941-52), training, and out-migration of household members are presented in the report; but no results are shown dealing with one of the stated objectives—the possibilities of fuller employment in the area. Perhaps that difficult objective will become the subject of a later report.

The general population facts for areas of high human fertility and low agricultural resources are well known to rural sociologists. The principal contribution of the present report to existing knowledge lies in the further definition of off-farm work, which census reports have shown to be so prevalent among farm operators in the Appalachian-Ozark region. The present report answers, for both head and other family members in Kentucky Economic Area 8, such questions as the amounts, kinds, and location of off-farm work, the proportion that is nonagricultural, and whether the work involves periods of separation from the family. It is of interest to note that government (26 per cent) ranks second and close to manufacturing and forestry (29 per cent) as the principal non-agricultural industries in which male heads were employed.

It is shown, and mentioned as partially a residual effect of out-migration, that one out of five male heads and 7 per cent of other household members are either totally or partially disabled. The reader would wish for at least a footnoted explanation of the nature of disability and how much occurs among persons of usual working age. Since the Productive Man-Work Unit measure was already used to show total labor requirements on the farms for the year, it would seem that seasonal variation could have been thus quantitatively shown as indicating definitely the periods of underemployment on farms and of the availability of labor for nonfarm work.

J. L. CHARLTON.

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Cotton and Manpower—Texas High Plains.

Joe R. Motheral, William H. Metzler, and Louis J. Ducoff. Texas Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 762, in cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ., USDA, College Station. 51 pp. May 1953.

Cotton and Manpower is one of a series of farm labor studies jointly undertaken by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and land-grant colleges. War conditions make these studies particularly timely, although the labor problem in agriculture remains a continuous one that needs intensive investigation.

Cotton production in the South is an important segment of the total agricultural economy and requires large numbers of farm workers. With the prospects of increased mechanization supplanting much of

the present hand labor, cotton farmers are faced with problems of labor adjustment.

Lubbock and Crosby Counties, which were selected for the study, are located in the High Plains Cotton Area of Texas. Here mechanization of the farming operation has progressed rapidly; consequently, information from this area should prove useful in understanding some of the changes affecting farm labor that will occur as cotton production throughout the South becomes more fully mechanized. The farmers in the area depend on a migratory labor force that moves during the summer months from the southern part of Texas to the High Plains cotton fields, the end of the cycle. Even with this labor force, there is a deficit in labor supply during the harvest season.

The intent of the bulletin is to investigate such matters as "on-farm labor supply; the existence of labor reserves; effects of the Korean outbreak on normal labor sources; organized means of retaining or increasing the labor supply; and the outlook for the 1952 harvest."

One of the important results of the study concerns the extent to which mechanization of the cotton farms has progressed on full-owner farms, and the effect that institutional tenure patterns have had in restricting mechanization of farms operated on a share-crop basis. On the farms operated by full owners, 68 per cent of the crop was machine harvested, compared with 26 per cent on the farms operated by tenants. Under present lease arrangements, economic returns resulting from the use of cotton strippers are unfavorable to owners. Tenants are thus persuaded in various ways not to use cotton strippers. If mechanization is to proceed more rapidly, a different kind of land-tenure contract will need to be encouraged.

On the 324 farms included in the sample, the farmers' chief complaint is the existence of labor stringencies. In recruiting laborers, many farmers deal directly with the crew leaders and workers. More education is needed to inform the farmers of the possibilities of recruiting, through established agencies, an orderly and dependable supply of farm labor. The workers leave their employment, in most instances, because of dissatisfaction over wages; only one left because housing was unsatisfactory.

This bulletin, along with the other bulletins being prepared, gives a more complete view of the manpower situation than we have had in these selected agricultural areas. Employers, workers, and local, state, and federal agencies having responsibilities

in the field of farm labor will find this information of great value. Sociologists will be interested primarily in the social problems that attend the employment of farm labor, and the social implications of the transition from hand farming to more extensive mechanization. They will be concerned also with the institutional arrangements in land-tenure practices and the work patterns of farming which discourage the use of new labor-saving devices and the full utilization of farm labor.

WILLIAM A. DEHART.

Utah State Agricultural College,
Logan, Utah.

Agricultural Training for Veterans: A Report on Reactions of Participants. Walter L. Slocum. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Circ. 206, Pullman. 16 pp. Oct. 1952.

Adjustment of Veteran Trainees to Farming and Rural Life. Walter L. Slocum. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 541, Pullman. 23 pp. Apr. 1953.

The first of these reports presents a summary of the ratings given by 639 veterans of World War II to various aspects of the agricultural training program for veterans as operated in the state of Washington. All of the veterans were either operating farms or working on farms when they gave their views. In the opinion of most of these men, the training program had provided them with a significant and valuable educational experience. Some changes were suggested for future programs.

The second report presents an evaluation of the adjustments to farming and rural life made by 566 Washington veterans. Adjustments to farming, social adjustments, and levels of living were considered. All of the men were farm operators who had participated in the veterans' agricultural training program.

In the words of the author, "Because of the benefits involved, the training program must be considered one of the primary factors which enabled these veterans to undertake farming. It did not enable them to overcome the obstacles and work out successful adjustments."

The author goes one step further and suggests that help in locating a farm and obtaining needed financial backing and favorable credit terms are necessary. "These," he states, "the training program cannot be expected to provide. Such help should be provided in a systematic manner for all veterans who possess the necessary

personal qualifications and characteristics and who are strongly motivated toward farming."

These comments, however, need not be limited to training programs for veterans. They are at the heart of the problem of most youth trying to get a start in the mechanized and specialized farming of the present time.

ROY L. ROBERTS.

Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance,
Washington, D. C.

A Study of Organized Communities in Mississippi. A. Alexander Fanelli and Raymond Payne. Social Science Research Center, Community Studies 1, State College, Miss. 79 pp. June 1953.

This report is a product of a research program oriented to the current interest in "local action" and "community development." The primary purpose of the study "was to gather descriptive data about [Mississippi] organized communities—their distribution, size, membership, purposes, activities, etc.—and to analyze these data in order to arrive at a better understanding of the [community development] movement . . . in Mississippi."

Since the authors have reported their major substantive findings in *Community Organizations in Mississippi* (Mississippi AES Circular 183, April, 1953), the emphasis of the bulletin under review is "on procedures used in the study and on certain findings with respect to attitudes . . . of presidents of organized communities."

The authors define an organized community operationally as one in which there is an open-country neighborhood association "formally organized to the extent that it has officers and holds regular meetings, which draws its membership from and operates within a fairly well-defined area, which is open to membership by men and women and youth and adults, and which is organized to pursue a range of interests rather than one specific interest."

A list of existing organized communities was obtained from a previous survey made by the county agent. By a series of "screening" questions, 164 organizations were selected that met the criteria for an "organized community." The data were collected by mail, using a brief (30 items) questionnaire. The presidents of the organizations were the informants; the county agents cooperated in the arrangements. Follow up procedures made possible a high yield (84 per cent) for mail questionnaires.

One of the substantive findings was that organized communities were distributed differentially throughout the state. Seven counties contained 55 per cent of all organized communities, and these communities included about 6,817 families. White organizations tended to be larger than Negro groups. The majority of organized communities were of recent origin—almost 90 per cent had been established since 1947. Extension Service agents were mentioned most frequently as originators. The purpose of these organizations was expressed in general attitudinal goals such as "better living," "better cooperation," and "improve community." The major organizational problem encountered by the presidents centered around the apathy of some members of their communities. Agricultural agencies were felt to be most helpful in assisting presidents with their organizational problems. All of the presidents were disposed favorably toward community organization as a technique for dealing with community problems.

This report, as a descriptive census of the Mississippi situation, is a valuable contribution to research on community organization. The researchers are to be commended for beginning on a broad base with this type of exploratory study. The bench marks they have established will add value to their future studies, whether they are interested in trends or the more functional aspects of community organizations.

Increased interest in community organization research is needed. The work of Fanelli and Payne suggests some fruitful possibilities for those who study the dynamic factors of community organization. The role of the county agent should be explored. Member and nonmember relations may be revealing. The function of values in relation to the organization of rural people needs attention. The diffusion process (nearly a third of the organizations in this study were located in three widely separated counties) suggests itself as another possible area of research.

SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD.

Pennsylvania State College,
State College, Pennsylvania.

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NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Samuel W. Blizzard

A COMMUNICATION FROM THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

May I take this opportunity to express my appreciation to each and every one for the earnest and sincere cooperation extended me during this rather busy year. As with you, the president of the Rural Sociological Society has had a full schedule of work over and above his official duties to the Society. Probably both that work and his duties as president have suffered. However, an effort has been made to do an acceptable job at both. To serve as an officer of the Rural Sociological Society is more of a privilege than an honor, and I have accepted it as such, as well as an expression of the confidence of the Society in me as one of its members.

It was your retiring president, as a member of a committee on organization, who, on December 28, 1937 (I quote the date from memory, as none of the records or correspondence shows it in writing), introduced a minority resolution which resulted in the birth of the Society. Not one of the members of that committee would sign the minority report with me. However, certain old "war horses" of the Society who, along with me, saw possibilities in the future for a Rural Sociological Society came in numbers to my support. In fact, I had been placed on that committee because it was known generally that I had been advocating the formation of a society of our own for several years. It was known, too, that there was strong opposition to it. It was a case of men who were then young, at least younger than they are now, leading a meeting while the elder brethren slept on their own rights. It is always young men who win the crucial issues. Old men may declare the war and dictate the terms of peace, but young men fight, and young men die for the causes in which they believe. Sometimes they win. December 28, 1937, was a day of victory for young men. There are others yet to be won.

We have had a good year in 1953, despite some discouragements. More remains to be done than has been accomplished. I trust that young men will support my successor, Nate Whetten, and his successor, Bill Sewell. They are tops, but they will need our help. So will their successors after them.

I foresee a rural society which we cannot study without new concepts, new units of measurement, new ideas of basic rural groups, and new senses and ideas of rela-

tionships between rural people and other human groups. We must see agricultural society in the light of a new function in the total society. It remains for others than my generation to derive the formulas and the coefficients by which that society can be interpreted to the world.

Never cease looking for the unexpected, despising not the old nor fearing the new. Each in its selfsame manner has its part in the evolution of human society. The things which we know are never true for a much longer time than it took us to learn them. In the future, social change will be so rapid that what we learn will have become obsolete before we are sure of it. Such is the prospect which we must face with a realistic determination. Carry on!

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Minutes of the Business Meeting, September 4, 1953, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma. The meeting was called to order at 4:00 p. m., by Otis Durant Duncan, president. Minutes of the August 31-September 1, 1952, meetings as published in the December, 1952, issue of *Rural Sociology* were accepted as printed.

A report was given on the preferences of members, as expressed in a mail inquiry, as to time and place of the 1954 meetings. It was moved, seconded, and carried that the 1954 annual meeting of the Society be held on the campus of the University of Illinois, just prior to the meetings of the American Sociological Society, with one day of joint meetings overlapping.

The Committee on Elections, consisting of Seth W. Russell (chairman), Renée Abramson, and Francena Nolan, reported. The following candidates were elected officers of the Rural Sociological Society for the coming year: president-elect, William H. Sewell; vice-president, Margaret Jarman Hagood; member of the Executive Committee, Olaf F. Larson; member of the Editorial Board of *Rural Sociology*, Homer L. Hitt; Committee on Research, J. Allan Beegle; Committee on Extension, Harold E. Smith; Committee on Teaching, Leland B. Tate.

The request of the Department of Town and Country Church, National Council of Churches, that the Rural Sociological Society support a request that President

Dwight D. Eisenhower appoint a Study Commission on American Country Life was, after discussion, referred to the Executive Committee.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the Society continue membership in the International Sociological Society. The secretary-treasurer was instructed to pay annual dues to the International Society.

It was reported in the absence of Selz C. Mayo, chairman of the Membership Committee, that there were 553 members, as of August 3, 1953.

J. L. Charlton was appointed a member of the Auditing Committee as a replacement for Walter C. McKain.

The report of the Census Committee was given orally by Margaret Jarman Hagood. It was moved, seconded, and passed that the report be received and that the committee be continued. In connection with the work of the Census Committee, it was moved, seconded, and carried that the Executive Committee be instructed to explore means for gaining restoration of the 1954 Agricultural Census.

The meeting was adjourned at 5 o'clock.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, Rural Sociological Society, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, September 6, 1953. Nathan L. Whetten, Otis Durant Duncan, William H. Sewell, Olaf F. Larson, Charles R. Hoffer, and Samuel W. Blizzard were present.

It was agreed by consent that the 1954 annual meeting should be held two days prior to the meetings of the American Sociological Society and that one day of joint meetings be held with two joint sections.

On recommendation from the Board of Editors, it was proposed that Robert L. McNamara be appointed to fill the unexpired term of four years created by the appointment of Harold Hoffsommer as editor. It was also proposed that A. R. Mangus be appointed to fill the unexpired term of two years created by the election of Homer L. Hitt to a full term of five years. By vote, these recommendations were approved and the appointments were made.

Minutes of the Business Meeting, September 6, 1953, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma. The meeting was called to order at 10:30 a. m., by Otis Durant Duncan, president.

By motion duly made and carried, the action of the 1952 annual meeting appropriating \$200 from the treasury of the Society and transferring this sum to the man-

aging editor of *Rural Sociology* was reaffirmed for 1953. It was understood by this action that back issues of *Rural Sociology* for the current volume become the property of the Society.

The report of the Teaching Committee was presented by William McKinley Robinson. It was moved, seconded, and carried that the report be received. The report is included as a part of the minutes of these meetings.

The Research Committee reported through C. Horace Hamilton, who presented a document prepared by Selz C. Mayo. By motion and vote, the report was received and made a part of the minutes of these meetings.

Roy C. Buck presented the Extension Committee report in the absence of William R. Gordon, chairman. A motion to receive the report was voted and passed. The report is included as a part of the minutes of these meetings.

After extensive discussions on the work of the *ad hoc* committees, it was moved that papers available currently or before January 1, 1954, and of sufficient quality, be published through *Rural Sociology* and that the Committee of Fifteen be dissolved and its functions be assumed by the standing Research Committee of the Society. This motion received a second and was passed. It was also moved that the Research Committee for 1953-54 be instructed to investigate recent evaluation efforts made by other academic professional groups and to report at the next annual meeting any proposal they may have as to a plan for a new and continuing effort toward evaluation of the state of rural sociological knowledge. This was seconded and passed. In addition, it was moved, seconded, and passed that the Executive Committee provide for the preparation of a historical and interpretative summary report of the work of the *ad hoc* committees.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the proposed amendments to the Constitution and Bylaws of the Rural Sociological Society, as published in the June, 1953, issue of *Rural Sociology* (pp. 219-220), be adopted.

The Executive Committee was instructed, by a motion seconded and passed, to appoint a committee to consider and report on the desirability of establishing classes of membership in the Rural Sociological Society.

The secretary-treasurer gave a report on the financial year of the Society ending July 30, 1953. A copy of the report is included as a part of the minutes of these

meetings. The report was received by a motion duly seconded and passed.

The managing editor of *Rural Sociology*, A. Lee Coleman, reported orally on the journal activities for the year. A formal report will be published at the close of the calendar year.

The Auditing Committee, Edgar A. Schuler, chairman, James F. Montgomery, and J. L. Charlton reported that the treasurer's records for the fiscal year ending July 30, 1953, had been examined and that the committee found the records accurate and correct as officially reported. This report was received by motion, duly seconded, and carried.

William H. Sewell presented the following report of the Resolutions Committee and moved that it be adopted:

WHEREAS, The Department of Rural Sociology staff members and other workers, and the administration of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College have given generous, useful, and effective service with wholehearted cooperation in making the 1953 Rural Sociological Society meeting an outstanding one; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Society express unanimously a vote of thanks to all these persons.

WHEREAS, Officers, program committee members, and others have worked untiringly and effectively to make this meeting the success that it is; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Society extend its appreciation and thanks to these workers.

WHEREAS, Little attention has been paid to the matter of a repository (or repositories) for important historical documents and other papers; therefore be it

Resolved, That due attention be paid to this, with the appointment by the president of a special committee to canvass the situation more thoroughly.

WHEREAS, Mrs. Elsie S. Manny of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life has, for a period of at least thirteen years, rendered outstanding service to the Society by her able assistance to the successive editors of the *Bulletin Reviews* in the journal, *Rural Sociology*, and

WHEREAS, During this period, Mrs. Manny has carried much of the burden of this important assignment and has been primarily responsible for seeing that no important bulletins in the field were overlooked, and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Manny has performed this valuable service without thought of reward or credit, and

WHEREAS, In making this contribution to the profession, Mrs. Manny is, in a sense, carrying on the work of her late husband, a valued charter member of the Society; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Rural Sociological Society express its sincere gratitude to Mrs. Manny for her continuing service in this capacity and that the secretary be instructed to transmit this expression of appreciation to Mrs. Manny in an official form.

The motion was seconded and passed.

Otis Durant Duncan, the retiring president, presented the gavel to Nathan L. Whetten, the new president of the Society. Whetten announced the appointment of the following committees for the coming year: Nominating Committee: Charles P. Loomis (chairman), Paul J. Jehlik, Carl F. Kraenzel, Ernest E. Neal, Vernon J. Parenton, and Robert A. Polson; Membership Committee: John C. Belcher (chairman), Samuel W. Blizzard, and A. Lee Coleman; Census Committee: Selz C. Mayo (chairman), Margaret Jarman Hagood, and Robert L. Skrabanek; and Committee on Local Arrangements: Ward W. Bauder (chairman).

The new president also announced, on behalf of the Editorial Board of *Rural Sociology*, that he had resigned as editor and that the Editorial Board had appointed Harold Hoffsommer as editor. In addition, the resignation of T. Wilson Longmore as bulletin reviews editor was announced. Louis J. Ducoff has been appointed to succeed Longmore. Charles E. Lively, the book review editor, has resigned. The new book review editor is Eugene A. Wilkening.

The meeting was adjourned at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORT OF THE TEACHING COMMITTEE

For the past twenty years rural sociologists have been fighting for recognition of their research and teaching as a means for the betterment of rural life, and of their contributions to a science of sociology. . . . The battle is not yet won, but I have a belief that we are getting recognition as fast as we deserve it and that what is now needed is an assertion of leadership with a positive program in all those areas in which we are qualified to furnish it.

So said Dwight Sanderson in his presidential address before the Rural Sociological Society. The Committee on Teaching, noting particularly the references to teach-

ing being coordinate with research and the need for an assertion of positive leadership, accepts Sanderson's statement as being as pertinent today as it was in 1939.

Physical scientists amass research data for a ready market; social scientists more often amass their research data for a potential market. Teaching, whether in the classroom or through other means of communication, is quite as essential as research in the present stage of development and public acceptance of the social sciences. Rural sociologists, for well-known reasons, do most of their research work in land-grant colleges; hence, a disproportionate share of the research reflects the struggle for status within—and the potential markets of—those institutions.

Greater concern for teaching will highlight some of the present lags and gaps in the research. Rural sociologists have tended upon occasion to accept the thinking of action groups, rather than apply sociological techniques to an analysis of their programs. For example, in their textbooks—at least until quite recently—they have promoted the idea that an effective rural school must have at least 1,200 pupils, 300 of high-school age; and the thought that a population base of 1,000 is the minimum from which to draw membership for an effective rural church. These standards were set up by educators and churchmen, quite without benefit of consultation with sociologists, and then accepted by rural sociologists quite without benefit of having screened them through the processes and understandings of their discipline. Rural sociologists have not made a full contribution distinctly their own to such fields as social welfare, housing, library service, and government, though they have done much better in the field of health. The rapidly changing rural scene and the outward thrust of urban people into rural communities lend an urgency to these matters.

In keeping with this thinking, the Committee on Teaching makes the following recommendations:

1. That the Society promote the teaching of rural sociology in all those institutions in which a significant number of students are preparing to serve in rural communities, whether at home or abroad.

2. That the Society encourage research in those areas, such as government, education, and religion, in which there is need for the contribution of the rural sociologist.

3. That the writers in rural sociology direct some of their textbooks to those in preparation for the various professions or other service vocations, bearing in mind

that many of these will have but one, two at the most, courses in sociology, and will be interested in it primarily as an orientation course.

4. That a display of textbooks and teaching materials be provided at the annual meetings.

5. That, in the preparation of rural sociologists who have a primary interest in teaching, there be included professional courses in education.

6. That the Society in annual meeting devote at least one session to the problems and needs of those members who have a chief concern for teaching.

The committee wishes to express appreciation to those members of the Society who participated in the session in which the substance of this report was brought into final form.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. MCKINLEY ROBINSON
(Chairman)

REPORT OF THE RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Introduction. In its efforts to carve out a meaningful area of activity for itself this year, the Research Committee desired to avoid duplicating the ongoing, planned, or recent work of other individuals or groups. This criterion made it inappropriate to conduct a census of current research or a methodological critique of research in rural sociology. The committee did not desire to duplicate or infringe on the activities of the several *ad hoc* subcommittees of the Society, which have appraised or are in the process of appraising specific areas of rural sociology.

It was the feeling of the committee, however, that since the several *ad hoc* committees were reviewing previous research and suggesting needed research in the somewhat "developed" areas of rural sociology, our function might be to point out several potentially fruitful areas of research activity that are largely underdeveloped or have been ignored by most rural sociologists. We hope that this brief report will provoke serious consideration of these areas as strategic ones for future research in the sociology of rural life.

The committee report focuses on problem areas. These are: (1) sociological aspects of economic behavior; (2) the decision-making process; (3) social roles.

Research in the sociological aspects of economic behavior. The committee strongly urges that careful consideration be given to the relationship between the fields of

rural sociology and agricultural economics, and particularly to the unexploited possibilities for interdisciplinary research.

There are many economic problems that sociological factors may explain. The family farm, for example, is both an economic and a social organism. Whereas economists have usually looked upon low-producing farms as deviants from an ideal-type economic unit on marginal utility criteria, it is suggested that an alternative or an additional formulation may be that such farms are not economic deviants but social conformists. Local or family norms may be important determinants of "economic" behavior. Basic barriers to economic efficiency, it is suggested, may lie in institutionalized behavior patterns with their resultant sanctions for non-normative behavior.

Again, an exploration of the clique relationships, of the value systems, and of the position in the social structure of farm operators viewed as high and low on economic productivity criteria may shed a great deal of light on economic problems of agricultural production.

What is the impact of the family life cycle on the farm firm? What impact does the authoritarian as compared with the democratic type of farm family have on economic productivity? Why do uneconomic units stay in business when on economic criteria they should dissolve? These are examples of types of problems to which sociological analysis can possibly make important contributions. They suggest the efficacy of research designs on which the economist and sociologist could profitably collaborate.

The decision-making process in rural life. One criticism of much rural sociological research, leveled by our fellow sociologists and other social scientists, is the static and descriptive nature of so many rural studies. We describe rural community organization in terms of the traditional ecological concepts and point out the growing importance of interest groups and the lessening importance of the neighborhood. We occasionally describe the stratification structure of the community, but we seldom focus on the implications of the ecological or stratification structures for social behavior.

It is suggested that one mechanism to crack through this static type of analysis is to build researches around the decision-making process in communities. Instead of, or in addition to, asking the question, "What is the ecological organization or class structure of the community?" could we not ask "How do these social structures

influence the decision-making process in the community?" This would require the study of concrete important community decisions, with emphasis on the major determinants of those decisions. Who or what groups carried most weight in the selection of the high-school principal? Why did certain bond issues fail to pass? What pressures were exerted on the local officials to make or not to make certain decisions? Who exerted these pressures?

By asking such questions we focus attention on concrete social behavior. We then have the opportunity to explore what impact social structure has on human interaction and social relationships. Our frame of reference becomes dynamic as we view the social organization of the community.

Such questions may lead us to the observation that we have neglected certain other crucial phases of social structure. For example, much attention has been devoted to the prestige dimension of stratification. But, if we are to understand why communities behave the way they do, may not the more crucial dimension of stratification be that of power? Again, we see here the possibility of introducing such tools as reference-group theory and role theory into our analyses. Who are the referents and the reference groups of decision-makers? How do they define their roles? Whose expectations are they most concerned about? Whose sanctions are they most concerned about? These relatively new conceptual tools may be of great value in explaining the decision-making process and other types of social phenomena.

Social roles. A third largely unexploited area is the study of important social roles in the rural community. What are the expectations of the incumbents and the clients concerning the social roles of the county agent, the high-school principal, the minister, and farm-organization leaders in the rural community? To what extent is there consensus, for example, among the county agent, the local farmers, and Farm Bureau members regarding the rights and duties of the county agent? What role conflicts does he face? How does he resolve them?

This type of inquiry may also be of real value in the analysis of state extension systems. It is suggested that viewing such an organization as a series of interrelated roles may shed light on significant dysfunctional aspects of these social systems. To what extent is there consensus as to the mandatory, preferred, and prohibited behavior in Extension Service positions, among the occupants of these positions, their superiors, and their associates? What are the

consequences of lack of consensus? What factors are related to differential expectations? Are certain types of role conflict built into some extension positions? What are the techniques utilized for the resolution of conflict?

Research on these questions would have important theoretical and practical implications. The testing of hypotheses in this area would provide significant sociological knowledge, as well as a body of extremely useful data of great interest and importance to extension administrators.

Respectfully submitted,

SELZ C. MAYO

REPORT OF THE EXTENSION COMMITTEE

This report is a summarization and an interpretation of statements submitted by interested workers in many states, in response to five questions which were distributed. There is no implication that these statements represent the opinions of a majority of extension sociologists, or that the developments reported are general among the states. We merely summarize an assortment of expressed opinions. These include reports from institutions in twenty-one states—from some states, more than one report. Respondents are extension sociologists, teachers and research staff members having an active interest in extension, and, in one case, a 4-H Club supervisor with a special interest in sociology, and in another, an assistant county agent.

Question 1: What has been done in rural sociology extension in your state in the last five years which is most promising for the immediate future? This question might better have read, "What has happened . . . ?" rather than "What has been done . . . ?" The replies report satisfaction with a variety of activities. These are condensed under four major developments, as follows: (1) Sociology is playing a more significant role in extension work; (2) productive relationships among extension, teaching, and research have grown; (3) cooperative working relations with other organizations and agencies have been strengthened; (4) sociology has become less a project and more a specialized resource service.

A more significant role for sociology in extension is indicated by reports of increasing sociologist participation in (a) planning programs devoted to teaching extension staff members; (b) formulating extension methods for use in the field, and specifically with regard to principles of community organization, defining community needs, and devising procedures by

which to deal with community problems; (c) analyzing administrative techniques where they apply to motivation and group action in education; (d) devising methods for program planning at the community level.

Productive relationships among extension, teaching, and research are indicated in instances where (a) educational requirements have been imposed—for example, required courses in rural sociology for undergraduates or for Master's candidates in extension; (b) extension staff members have taken summer courses or sabbatical work with some attention to rural sociology; (c) teaching and research personnel have prepared material for use in extension, relating to subject matter and method in rural sociology; (d) other subject-matter specialists have purposefully sought to give their projects "a sociological content."

Cooperative working relations with other organizations and agencies are reported to have resulted in (a) a "big-hitch" attack on such problems as health, migrant labor, the rural church, citizenship, and recreation; (b) community, county, and state machinery in the form of a council equipped for continued effort in these and other directions.

Sociology as a specialized resource service devoted to making its own unique contribution to extension education is defined in the following particulars: (a) cultivating among rural people an understanding that problems are frequently conditions shared by many and are problems of the group, the neighborhood, and the community; (b) motivating these same people to proceed group-wise with planning for the solution of these problems, because such planning is more productive of the results desired; (c) demonstrating and teaching the techniques in problem-solving through the group, the neighborhood, and the community, and the greater promise in such procedure; (d) demonstrating both discrimination and skill in analyzing a variety of social situations; and in such demonstrations exhibiting competence in working with the "problem area" as well as with the "average" condition.

It appears, then, on the basis of the replies submitted, that extension rural sociology has been shifting its role in recent years: (a) within the extension program itself, (b) in its relations outside extension, and (c) in the aims of its endeavors expressed in its goals.

Question 2: Considering recent trends—technological, economic, and social—in what area do you see the principal challenge to rural sociology extension for the immediate future? Three proposed objectives summarize the replies to this question: (a) keep sociology in the role of its most effective service; (b) assist rural people to achieve social enlightenment and social competence; and (c) strengthen the group-democratic process aimed at improving the general welfare.

Keep sociology in the role of its most effective service. It is pointed out that, since the work in sociology is a part of the larger program in extension, the sociologist shares the common responsibility of keeping extension well up front among all services and agencies catering to rural people. It is indicated that he will do this by doing well with the opportunities in his own field. But there is a question whether he will make his best contribution in working directly with groups and leaders in communities, or in working through other extension personnel and influential individuals in other organizations and agencies. In this latter role he would serve as analyst, evaluator, and counsellor on methods. It may be that the rural sociologist will serve best in a "supporting role" in solving technological and economic problems of rural people.

This is probably what one writer had in mind when he declared for a despecializing of rural sociology. If this approach were adopted, a project in rural sociology extension would become something different from what it has been in the past, in most instances.

In addition to suggesting a shift in emphasis of effort, the replies point out that, as a craftsman, the rural sociologist must be technically well qualified by training and experience and well informed, not only with regard to his scientific field but also with regard to the situations in which he seeks to perform. These, of course, apply to anyone engaged in a service or guidance occupation.

Assist rural people to achieve social enlightenment and social competence. The distribution throughout the rural countryside of families that neither live on farms nor are farm-minded; the situation today in which approximately half of the farmers devote some time to off-farm work; pronounced mechanization on the one hand, and wide shifts in agricultural production programs on the other; the effects of a declining industry in an area (soft coal, for

example), or the invasion of a mammoth industry like steel-making; consolidation and centralization in public-school education—these are some of the developments mentioned in support of the second proposed objective.

These, and other developments which could be mentioned, subject the individual and the family to a multitude of effects, requirements, and social pressures, and divide their interests. For many, economic and social penalties bring the gnawing fear of insecurity. For some others, of course, there is opportunity.

The challenge of this general objective is to help people understand any social problem as an experience shared by many; to see it as something about which each needs to be reasonably articulate; to accept it as something to be dealt with by the many, acting in concert, with intelligent purpose and the confidence which comes of successful experience.

Strengthen the group-democratic process aimed at the general welfare. This objective stems from the following considerations, in addition to those already mentioned:

The effective operation of the group-democratic process is impaired where there is a lack of knowledge, and a lack of the disposition to put knowledge to work. These were alluded to earlier. But there is challenge also when the social environment is changing in significant particulars; where the theater of one's principal experience, his community, needs re-examination and redefinition, preliminary to a redirecting of its purposes and labors. There is challenge in the wide influence of the new media for mass informing—the radio and television. Just how much better equipped for meeting responsibilities in the democratic process is one whose socializing experience is mainly with the radio and television in the near-vacuum, socially, of his own little nook in the house? Is it listening and seeing at the expense of learning?

This is not to be construed as belittling these advanced and indispensable instruments for communication. It is intended to point to their limitations as they are now used.

Question 3: What are the principal considerations for us (extension sociologists) if we are to be effective in these areas of challenge? The comments received are grouped under three headings: (a) considerations with reference to the sociologist's proficiency; (b) considerations with reference to educational objectives in ex-

tension sociology; and (c) considerations with reference to the sociologist's relations with others.

With reference to proficiency. Among the comments in this category is the admonition to leave off the "do good" complex. We interpret this to mean that we are to continue to be helpful, but that we should avoid the sanctimonious attitude of superiority and the apparent overselling of talents which are commonly observed in the "do gooder."

A second negative comment is that academic training in sociology appears to prepare for research and teaching rather than give equivalent attention to preparation for extension. Another comment suggests that there may be an advantage in recruiting new talent from among young county agents. A further suggestion is that there is need of more part-time employment for those who seek to advance in the field of sociology.

Some comments deal with what we can do for ourselves, especially with reference to the estimates that others make of our work. Attention is called to instances where an extension sociologist may allow himself to become an academic "jack-of-all-trades." As a result there is, in extension and out of it, a hazy idea of just what sociology is, and what the rural sociologist does. A second point is to the effect that "expedient" or "fringe" research scarcely adds to the research worker's standing as a sociologist.

Then, too, there are individuals who make their own definition of the qualifications for the sociologist. They may look upon someone in extension who exhibits a flair for promoting favorable public relations or for delivering pleasing speeches, or even a person who appears to advantage when leading a group in community singing, as a proper one upon whom to bestow the distinguishing label of "sociologist." No matter how capable one may be as a "front man" for the organization, he does not thereby become a sociologist; nor can he by administrative fiat. Doubtless many people have read the book *How to Make Friends and Influence People*, believing it to be the sociologist's handbook. There are occasions when the rural sociologist will have to protect the integrity of his work, even at the cost of appearing somewhat stubborn and conceited.

With reference to educational objectives in extension sociology. At the outset it is appropriate to examine the objectives or goals which we now seek. To some, these

are not adequate. The point was made earlier in this report, that the title "sociology project" implies and justifies a specialization which limits too strictly the service of the sociologist.

In this connection, a question may be raised as to just how goals are set up in the first place. Do sociologists define their own goals? Are they free to? Should they be free to?

Ours is one phase of a vast program in education. In common with all education, both formal and informal and at all levels, two sets of values dominate all others in the choices which dictate purposes and behavior today. A third set, the one with which we have our major responsibility, is tacitly acknowledged, but is not on a par with the other two. About this third set, people are less certain, less in agreement, less powerfully conditioned.

The first two are (a) economic values and (b) technological values. The third set represents (c) the relationships among people and the procedures by which they act collectively and with greater effectiveness for the many. The difference in influence might be illustrated figuratively somewhat as follows: If economic values were to have an *appeal weight* of 30 and technological values an *appeal weight* of 19, social values, by comparison, would have an *appeal weight* of perhaps 3.

Goals in extension sociology, in common with goals in other educational enterprises, are determined by a combination of many influences. But the two most generally consistent and pervasive are economic and technological values. People, in deciding what they want, what they favor, what they will work for, are influenced by the prevailing value systems. So are administrators when they distribute funds and decide the use of facilities. So are legislators when they make appropriations. So are the "reporters" and evaluators when they take the measure of what has been accomplished.

Perhaps a strong case can be made for the claim that the greatest promise for extension rural sociology today is in a "supporting role" to other projects in quest of technological and economic goals. For values do not stand separate and apart, but rather in interacting combinations. And the rural sociologist who persists in seeking social goals will be struggling against the tide, against a lack of understanding of what he seeks to accomplish, against a general lack of enthusiasm for his work.

However, we can also look with real hope to a select few who have the fortitude to

dedicate themselves to more direct, though less popular, procedures in the practice of their art—who have the intelligence, skill, and persistence to carry through to successful conclusion their undertakings, when the results are unmistakable achievements in social enlightenment and social competence among those we serve. They will perform the all-too-rare creative work in this field. They, chiefly, will chart the course of development and determine the progress in extension sociology.

They will more likely be the ones to reach out further and down deeper to the least favored, the least understanding, the least responsive persons; for they will recognize great need there. They will keep us attentive to a workable body of principles. They will be ever busy to improve techniques. They will be restless and unsatisfied as long as we lack reliable means of evaluating results, results which are truly sociological.

They will be few. But they are indispensable.

With reference to the sociologist's relations with others. It would be possible to present quite a list of items having to do with relationships. Numerous suggestions were submitted. But they can be summarized under either of the two general goals discussed below:

The first consists of the many things we can do to contribute to increased effectiveness with extension in general, and specifically with individual projects in agriculture, homemaking, 4-H, and older youth work. Success in this area will make needless the lament of some who declare that extension administration in too many instances is not "sold" on sociology, and that department administrators are concerned with teaching and research to the exclusion of extension.

The second area consists of those services, less numerous but every bit as important, with which we can distinguish our field, our service, our contribution in terms of sociology, and which can be demon-

strated to be essential in the undertakings of communities, organizations, and agencies.

The rural sociologist will be active in both areas. For each, the "when," "where," and "to what extent" will be determined by the many considerations referred to earlier.

Questions 4 and 5: What opportunities do we have in common with research? In common with teaching? In the replies to both of these questions there was an emphasis on teamwork. The result of more teamwork between research and teaching would be research which is more "extension useful" and more generally "extension tested." This would mean a program scientifically designed for problem-solving, with a workable and effective division of responsibility. In case of teaching-extension teamwork, the classroom would draw on extension for teaching material, while extension would draw on teaching for methods. The extension sociologist would appear in the classroom at appropriate intervals to contribute to the instruction and to be identified as the extension agent of the college, available to assist the students when they have finished college and are back in their communities working on local problems. In a reciprocal manner, the teacher is presented to groups in the state as an authority and counsellor in his field of subject matter.

Conclusion. A report such as this always does violence to many carefully prepared statements submitted by conscientious correspondents. However, all of these could not be reported verbatim within the allotted space. They have been read carefully and considered in the summarization, and, we trust, are recognizable in the comprehensive statements for each question. We are grateful for the cooperation.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM R. GORDON
(Chairman)

TREASURER'S REPORT
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

July 30, 1953

Beginning balance\$1,888.20

RECEIPTS

Membership dues 2,544.25
 Back issues of *Rural Sociology* for members 2.00
 Sale of back issues of *Rural Sociology* (A. Lee Coleman) 105.05
 Miscellaneous (Edmund deS. Brunner) 14.00

Total Receipts\$4,553.50

EXPENDITURES

Printing 1952 annual meeting programs (Roberts Printing Company) \$ 32.13
 2000 Letterheads (Commercial Printing Co.) 18.85
 2000 Stamped Envelopes (Robert J. Miller) 71.44
 2000 membership application cards (Commercial Printing Co.) 17.70
 1952 back issues (A. Lee Coleman) 200.00
 1952 subscriptions (A. Lee Coleman) 89.50
 1953 subscriptions (A. Lee Coleman) 1,725.75
 Back issues of *Rural Sociology* for members (A. Lee Coleman) 2.00
 Refund (George M. Stabler) 1.00
 Notary fee (Eleanor Eckert)25

Total Expenditures\$2,158.62

Balance, July 30, 1953\$2,394.88

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

University of Alabama. Solon T. Kimball, head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, has resigned his position and has joined the Department of Social Foundations at Teachers College, Columbia University. He and Marion Pearsall used the summer to complete the report of the Talladega study, a research project sponsored by the Health Information Foundation.

Henry L. Andrews has been appointed acting head of the department for 1953-54.

Thomas R. Ford accepted a position with the Human Resources Research Institute at Maxwell Field and began his new duties in September. During the past year, he directed a study of nursing functions with a grant provided by the American Nurses' Association. He was assisted by Mrs. Diane Durham Stephenson.

A. T. Hansen has been awarded a university research grant to continue the preparation of a monograph on Yucatan.

Florida State University. DeHart Krans, who has been in charge of the Acute Treatment Service at the Veterans Administration Hospital at Perry Point, Maryland, has joined the staff as professor of social psychiatry. He is a Diplomate of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology.

David L. Levine, who received his doctorate in social work in June at the University of Minnesota, joined the staff in August. He is giving part of his time to the Human Relations Institute and is also responsible for courses in Human Growth and Development.

Dorothy D. Hayes, who comes to the university at the beginning of the second semester of 1953-54, will be professor of social welfare and will have certain major re-

sponsibilities for curriculum development in the graduate program in social work. She is completing work for the doctorate in social work at Minnesota during the first semester of 1953-54.

Earl Lomon Koos, who has been head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Rochester, is another new member of the staff. His major responsibilities are in the area of Marriage and Family Living where he will conduct doctoral seminars and direct doctoral dissertations. His book on *Marriage* has been published by Henry Holt.

University of Kentucky. C. Paul Marsh began his duties on July 1 as assistant rural sociologist. He came from Cornell University, where he was a graduate student.

Sidney Kaplan has joined the staff as instructor in sociology. He recently received the Ph.D. degree from Washington State College. The full-time professional staff in sociology and rural sociology now numbers eleven, in addition to one part-time and one emeritus professor.

Irwin T. Sanders, distinguished professor of sociology, has resumed his duties at the university, after a year in Greece.

In further integration of the work in the Departments of Rural Sociology (College of Agriculture and Home Economics) and Sociology (College of Arts and Sciences), joint college assignments have now been made to Howard W. Beers, James S. Brown, A. Lee Coleman, and Irwin T. Sanders, so that each has duties in Experiment Station research and in general teaching.

C. Arnold Anderson, professor of sociology, read a paper at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in Berkeley, California, and also was a featured speaker at the banquet of the Rural Sociological Society at its annual meeting in Stillwater, Oklahoma. At Berkeley, his topic was "Economic Status Differentials within Southern Agriculture"; at Stillwater he spoke on "The Need for a Functional Theory of Social Classes."

At the August commencement, the university granted the first Ph.D. in sociology to Abdel Monem Nour, who has returned to his native Egypt as a United Nations employee. Nour's thesis was a translation and interpretation of the sociological theory of Ibn Khaldoun.

James S. Brown and A. Lee Coleman have been promoted to the rank of associate professor and associate rural sociologist.

On September 28, a "School for a Day" for community leaders of the state was held at the university under the auspices of the

Bureau of Community Service. Over 350 persons registered for two 2-hour courses, chosen from a list of six courses on the "how to do it" level. A noon luncheon meeting featured Carl C. Taylor, who spoke on his observations during the past year as a United Nations consultant on community development in various underdeveloped countries.

James N. Young, graduate student, is back on the campus after a year in New Zealand as a Rotary Educational Foundation Fellow and nearly a year spent in traveling throughout South and Central Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. Gilbert Hardee, graduate student, has returned after a year in Australia as a Fulbright scholar and several months of travel in the Middle East and Europe. Helge Solli, editor of a daily newspaper published by a farmers' organization in Norway, is taking graduate work in rural sociology under the sponsorship of the local Rotary Club District. Paul Richardson is currently a graduate assistant in rural sociology. Other graduate assistants are Herbert Aurbach and Jerome Lau-light.

During the latter part of August, Willis A. Sutton, Jr., assistant professor of sociology, was engaged in a field analysis of the process whereby Cairo, Illinois, changed its school system from one that was segregated to one in which Negroes were integrated into white schools. The study was one of a series of similar community studies which constituted one phase of a larger project financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The purpose was to secure information helpful to the South and the nation on all aspects of segregation and desegregation in education.

Michigan State College. Olen Leonard has been granted an extension of his leave for one year to permit him to continue as director of Technical Cooperation of the Northern Zone of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences. His headquarters are in Havana, Cuba. Michigan State College has recently signed an agreement with the Institute to have two staff members engage in research in Latin America.

Allan Beegle has received a Fulbright award for research in Finland. He will study a small village community in that country in collaboration with the University of Helsinki. W. W. Schroeder, formerly a graduate student at Michigan State College and more recently a student at the University of Chicago, is substituting in research and teaching while Beegle is on leave.

Raymond Scheele returned from Brazil and has resumed his academic duties. While in Brazil, Scheele made a study for the Area Research Center under contract with the United States Department of State.

J. F. Thaden is on sabbatical leave. He will do research and writing in educational sociology.

The Social Research Service, in cooperation with the School of Continuing Education, is making a study of the social aspects of disaster. The research data are being collected at Flint, Michigan, where a tornado caused serious loss of life and heavy property damage last June. The National Research Council, through the National Opinion Research Center's disaster studies specialists, is providing assistance in the study. The Social Research Service committee in charge of the project consists of the following: W. H. Form and Charles Westie (co-chairmen) and Gregory Stone.

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology, through its Social Research Service, is engaged in making a pilot study of one school community in order to find out what citizens know about their schools, how they secured their information, and their attitudes toward schools. This project, designated as the Michigan Communications Study, is sponsored by the Midwest Administration Center, the University of Chicago, and Michigan State College. Following the pilot study, a series of follow-up studies will be made to evaluate the relative effectiveness of the various methods of communication. Wilbur Brookover and Leo A. Haak are co-chairmen of the project committee; Haak is in charge of the pilot study. Other members of the committee are Charles P. Loomis, Sigmund Nosow, J. F. Thaden, and Joel Smith.

Readings in Latin-American Organization and Institutions, a new book by Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, has been published by the Michigan State College Press. Also being published by the Free Press is the monograph *Turrialba Social Systems and the Introduction of Change*, by C. P. Loomis, J. O. Morales, Roy A. Clifford, and Olen E. Leonard.

The study of adult education in rural areas, conducted by the Social Research Service and sponsored by the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation, has been completed. A book reporting the findings of this research and entitled *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* will be published by the Michigan State College Press.

A book based on the project, "The Community Organizational Aspects of Health Care in the United States," sponsored by the Farm Foundation, has just been published. The book is entitled *Community Health Action: A Study of Community Contrast*, and Paul A. Miller is the author. Other staff members collaborated.

Visiting instructors for the 1953 summer session included the following: Thelmer R. Black, Utah State Agricultural College; Richard Dewey, University of Illinois; Dean Epley, Memphis State College; Morton B. King, Jr., University of Mississippi; Ward Porter, University of West Virginia.

Charles P. Loomis, head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, taught in the 1953 summer session at the University of Wisconsin.

Robert A. Hicks, a graduate student in the department, has received a Fulbright research grant, for the academic year 1953-54, to do research in urban ecology in the city of Baghdad, Iraq. He will be affiliated as a research fellow with the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghdad.

Beatrice Garner, graduate student in sociology and anthropology, studied linguistics at the University of Indiana Summer Institute (1953) under an American Council of Learned Societies grant.

Thomas L. Blair, who is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, is the recipient of a \$2,500 Opportunity Fellowship award from the John Hay Whitney Foundation, New York, for the year 1953-54. A fellowship for a similar amount was also awarded by the Whitney Foundation to Manuel Alers-Montalvo, who is another candidate for the Ph.D. degree in the department.

Five departmental seminars were held during the year with representatives of the American Universities Field Staff, Inc. The leaders for these seminars were: Albert Ravenholt and A. Doak Barnett, on China; Richard D. Robinson, on Turkey; Richard H. Nolte, on the Middle East; and Lawrence W. Witt, on Brazil. The same men participated as visiting specialists during the spring term in an inter-departmental seminar. The focus of the seminar was on problems of introducing change. The cooperating departments were: Agricultural Economics, Economics, Foreign Studies, History, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology and Anthropology. Kenneth Tiedke represented the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in this interdisciplinary project.

Mississippi Southern College. John H. Allen joined the faculty as assistant pro-

fessor of sociology at the beginning of the winter quarter. He has been working toward the doctorate at Pennsylvania State University.

In the fall, the Department of Sociology released a Mississippi population distribution map—one in a projected demographic series.

North Dakota Agricultural College. Seth W. Russell, formerly assistant dean of the School of Liberal Arts and head and professor of sociology at the Pennsylvania State University, has begun his duties as dean of the School of Applied Arts and Sciences.

Willis Raff, formerly at Hamline University, has become instructor in social science.

Courtney B. Cleland spent the summer as a senior social analyst for the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life in Saskatchewan. He did research on the rural homes project.

University of Rhode Island. L. Guy Brown, professor of sociology and head of the Department of Sociology, is taking sabbatical leave during the year 1953-54; he is spending the year at Winter Park, Florida, where he plans to complete a writing project.

Irving A. Spaulding is acting head of the department. He was elected to Phi Kappa Phi during the spring of 1953. He is currently engaged in resident teaching and in research with the Agricultural Experiment Station.

Robert V. Gardner continues as assistant professor, on the resident teaching staff. On July 1, 1953, Robert G. Brown joined the teaching staff as instructor; during the preceding year, Brown was a member of the research staff of the Rhode Island Governor's Commission to Study Problems of the Aged. On September 1, 1953, John B. Mitchell joined the staff as instructor and assumed responsibilities as a resident teacher and as an Agricultural Extension Service specialist in rural sociology.

Vanderbilt University. Jay W. Artis has joined the Department of Sociology as an assistant professor. He will offer course work in Demography and Rural Sociology. He also will direct the laboratory of the Department of Sociology.

Central University of Venezuela, Caracas, Venezuela. A ten-year "intellectual collaboration" agreement has been signed with the University of Wisconsin. The agreement is designed to help in the expansion and modernization of the various divisions of the Venezuelan university system. The

agreement stipulates that the University of Wisconsin will make available a specified number of senior faculty members on an annual basis, and junior members on a permanent basis; and, when qualified personnel are not available in Wisconsin, it will attempt to arrange to procure them from other institutions. The long-range nature of the program permits the planning of staff needs three years in advance, thus giving time for designated professors to prepare themselves linguistically. Instruction in Venezuela is in Spanish.

This cooperative program is unique in that no agencies or foundations other than the two collaborating institutions are involved. A joint committee of the two universities will be in charge of its administration, with the secretary of the Central University as chairman. Homer J. Herriott, associate dean of the Graduate School, is chairman of the Wisconsin group. George W. Hill will be coordinator of the program.

Although the program envisages collaboration in all of the disciplines, the most pressing needs in the first year's operations are expected to be in the Social Sciences, Agricultural Sciences, Education, Medical Sciences, and other applied sciences. The program also provides for the joint employment of some of the visitors in consultative and research capacities with ministerial agencies of the government. The scholarship program by which Venezuelan students are sent to study at foreign universities will likewise be expanded. The committee will assist in the placement of the students in universities which offer outstanding curricula in their proposed fields of concentration.

James Silverberg, from the University of Wisconsin, has joined the Department of Sociology and Cultural Anthropology of the Central University as anthropologist. Additional staff members for the department, as well as for the Department of Economics, are being recruited under the foregoing plan for the next three academic years.

State College of Washington. LaMar Empey has been appointed research assistant in the department for the current academic year. He is working on a Whitman County, Washington, study of the attitudes and practices of the farmers affecting the production and management of upland game. The study is supported in part by a grant of funds from the Washington State Department of Game.

During the summer Paul H. Landis, state professor of rural sociology, directed a Marriage and Family Life Studytour in

Europe. Twenty advanced students accompanied him on the tour, the purpose of which was to observe what other countries are doing to stabilize and enhance marriage and family life. The countries visited were France, England, Sweden, Germany, Denmark, and Holland. The course was sponsored by the State College of Washington and the National Council on Family Relations, and directed by the State University of New York, State Teachers College at New Paltz.

Wayne University. An undergraduate major in anthropology was instituted in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the fall of 1952. About a dozen undergraduate majors are enrolled. The major departmental offerings are augmented by physical anthropological work available under Gabriel Lasker and F. Gaynor Evans in the Anatomy Department of the College of Medicine, in prehistory and in folklore under George Lechler and Thelma James of the History and English Departments, and in musicology by Bruno Nettl of the Music Department.

Stephen C. Cappannari has been advanced in rank to assistant professor. After working as the consultant for the Workshop in Supervision at San Jose State College in the summer session of 1952, he taught at San Francisco State College in a post-session course on "India, an Area Study in Intercultural Relations." For the past year he has served as anthropological consultant and lecturer to the psychiatric staff of Northville (Michigan) State Hospital.

James Boyd Christensen gave an area course on Africa at the Mission Institute, Fordham University, during the summer. Christensen had done field work in West Africa among the Fanti of the Gold Coast. In addition to teaching courses in General Anthropology at Wayne University, he has added to the anthropology offerings a course on Negro Africa and one on the Negro in the New World. In October, he attended the conference on contemporary Africa sponsored by the National Research Council, at Princeton University.

Norman D. Humphrey spent the academic year 1952-53 as a field man for the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council; he was engaged in interviewing Mexican nationals who had attended American universities. He participated in the conference on findings of domestic and foreign staff members of the SSRC Committee, held at Ithaca, N. Y., in August, 1953. Humphrey taught a seminar in Personality and Cul-

ture during the spring quarter of 1953 at Mexico City College.

Gabriel Lasker and Bernice A. Kaplan have returned from a brief summer field trip to Mexico. With Charles Leslie, Kaplan made a study of the methods of mescal manufacture in Mitla. Lasker collected demographic data in connection with his studies of the size of breeding populations. Lasker recently assumed the editorship of *Human Biology*, a quarterly journal of research devoted to human genetics, growth and aging, bioanthropology, and demography.

Bruno Nettl has joined the staff of the Music Department. He received his Ph.D. in musicology from Indiana University, in June, 1953, with a dissertation on "American Indian Music North of Mexico: Its Styles and Areas." He is teaching a course in American Music, of which half is devoted to ethnic productions.

Western Reserve University. Joseph W. Eaton, on leave from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Wayne University, has joined the faculty of the School of Applied Social Sciences as visiting professor of social science. Eaton will introduce into the social-work curriculum current material and points of view from the related social sciences, such as cultural anthropology, social psychology, political science, and economics. The work is being financed by a \$50,700 grant from the Russell Sage Foundation over a three-year period.

PRIVATE AGENCIES

Committee for Economic Development. The Business-Education Committee, whose membership is divided between nationally known business executives and educators, sponsors economic research and education projects in cooperation with colleges and secondary-school groups throughout the country. Since 1947, the committee has cooperated with twenty-five colleges and universities to establish college-community economic research centers. Each project draws together leading business executives and faculty members to determine local and regional economic problems, conduct research, and provide guidance toward possible solutions. Colleges and universities at which college-community economic research projects have been established include: University of Arkansas, Brown University, University of Colorado, Emory University, Iowa State College, Lewis and Clark and Reed Colleges (jointly), University of Michigan, University of Minnesota,

Northwestern University, University of North Carolina, Occidental and Pomona Colleges (jointly), University of Rochester, University of Wisconsin, Southern Methodist University, and University of Oklahoma. Others are being organized at the University of Alabama, University of California, Tulane University, Washington University (St. Louis), Syracuse University, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburgh, and University of Washington (Seattle). William A. Patterson, president of United Air Lines, was recently appointed chairman of the Business-Education Committee.

Community Service, Inc. Arthur E. Morgan, president, is in West Africa where he has been appointed as adviser to the Gold Coast government. He is consulting on the Volta River project, which involves dam construction for power development, plans for an aluminum plant, and relocation of population. The construction of a reservoir covering a two-thousand-square-mile area may involve the moving of considerable population, while the assembling of construction forces for this half-billion-dollar project will involve other population adjustments.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Canadian Department of Agriculture. Frank Uhlir spent six weeks on leave of absence during August as a lecturer in educational sociology at the University of Alberta.

During August, 1953, Helen C. Abell assisted in conducting a short course on methods and objectives in working with rural people, at Queen's University. The department is now undertaking a study which attempts to trace the relocation of several hundred rural people who have been displaced from their farms and homes by the establishment of a military training center.

CONFERENCES

American Public Health Association. The 81st annual meeting of the American Public Health Association and the annual sessions of forty related organizations were held in New York City, November 9-13. Public health workers—physicians, dentists, nurses, engineers, statisticians, veterinarians, sanitarians, nutritionists, health educators, entomologists, biologists, sociologists, and others—attended the sessions. The theme of the meetings was "Meeting the Health Needs of the Community." Ses-

sions were devoted to industrial hygiene and sanitation, school health programs, nutrition and dietary developments, control of animal disease, maternal and child health, accident prevention, home nursing, laboratory and engineering developments, and work with handicapped children of various types. Reginald M. Atwater is executive secretary of the association.

First International Congress on Group Psychotherapy. All individuals and groups who are interested in group psychotherapy are invited to participate in the congress to be held in Toronto, August 12-14, 1954. The membership of the sponsoring committees includes representative group psychotherapists. The sponsoring organizations include: the American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama and the American Sociometric Association. Interested persons should write to J. L. Moreno, director, Organizing Committee, Room 327, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., for further information.

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS

American Institute of Cooperation. The Stokdyk Award of \$500 has been announced for the best Master's thesis in the field of agricultural cooperation. Requirements for the award are the following: The graduate study must be completed during the fiscal year of the Institute, July 1, 1953-June 30, 1954. A copy of the thesis must be sent to the Institute office at 744 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., by June 15, 1954, to be included in the present contest. Copies of the thesis will become the property of the Institute. The entries will be judged by a competent committee chosen from the land-grant colleges and universities. The student entering the contest must be enrolled in an accredited college or university, and at least three theses must be entered in the contest, in any one year, before a winner will be selected. The presentation of the award will be made at the annual Summer Session of the Institute.

OBITUARIES

JOHN BEN HOLLAND (1910-1953)

John B. Holland, age 43, died June 28, in Havana, Cuba. He was a social scientist on the staff of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Science. He was also associate professor at Michigan State College, with a dual appointment in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the

School of Science and Arts and in the Department of Social Science in the Basic College. He was a graduate of the University of Tulsa and was granted the Ph.D. degree by Michigan State College in 1950. In addition to teaching, Holland participated in research projects of the Social Research Service. His research included studies on minority groups and community health action in rural areas.

Dr. Holland was on the threshold of a very promising career. His brilliant mind and unusual ability to direct his energies in fruitful channels were readily recognized by his colleagues and students. He was the cherished friend of all who knew and worked with him. Michigan State College and the social sciences suffered a great loss in his untimely death.

LEO A. HAAK.

Michigan State College,
East Lansing, Michigan.

WENDELL F. KUMLIEN (1888-1953)

Dr. W. F. Kumlien, professor of rural sociology at South Dakota State College, died October 14, 1953. He had been in ill health for several months. Professor Kumlien was a native of Wisconsin. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Lawrence College in 1911, his M.S. from the University of Wisconsin and, in 1941, his Ph.D. from the same institution. Dr. Kumlien was interested in rural people and their institutions and problems. After graduating from college he spent five years in India as a teacher. Following his return

from India, Dr. Kumlien came to South Dakota State College. His first assignment in South Dakota was in the Extension Service, where he advanced from county agent to acting extension director.

In 1925 he was instrumental in establishing a separate Department of Rural Sociology. For a number of years Dr. Kumlien was the only sociologist on the faculty. During the 28 years he was department head and rural sociologist he devoted his time to teaching and research. Under his guidance and through his untiring efforts, the department grew in importance. At the time of his death there were five full-time staff members, and the department offerings had grown from a few courses to a curriculum for an undergraduate major and, finally, to a major for the Master's degree in rural sociology. As a rural sociologist he published 18 bulletins, 109 mimeographed pamphlets, and numerous articles and circulars.

Members of the Rural Sociological Society will remember him for his work on various committees. Dr. John W. Headley, president of South Dakota State College, paid the following tribute to Professor Kumlien: "State College lost one of its most able professors with the passing of Dr. Kumlien. During his more than thirty years of service on the staff, his teaching and research work have always been of a high quality. He has performed a great service for South Dakota."

HOWARD M. SAUER.

South Dakota State College,
Brookings, South Dakota.

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP, 1953

(To October 20, 1953)

Total: 573

United States (524)

ALABAMA (7)

Alexander, Lula E. (Mrs.)
Andrews, Henry L.
Caldwell, Morris G.
Edwards, V. A.
Gomillion, Charles G.
Johnson, Irene
Neal, Ernest E.

Daniel Payne College
Box 797
Box 636
Box 925
Box 31
Box 67
Box 67

Birmingham 6
University
University
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute

ALASKA (1)

*Gilliam, Ivan M.

Box 154

Kenai

ARKANSAS (4)

Charlton, J. L.
Folkman, William S.
Hudson, G. T.
Mosley, Robert W.

University of Arkansas
University of Arkansas
University of Arkansas
Arkansas State Teachers College

Fayetteville
Fayetteville
Fayetteville
Conway

CALIFORNIA (14)

Andersen, Martin P.
Brekke, Arnold
Brewer, George
*Carter, Gene W.
*Conline, Donald F.
Cramer, Raymond L.
*Kelley, Patricia M.
McMillan, Robert T.
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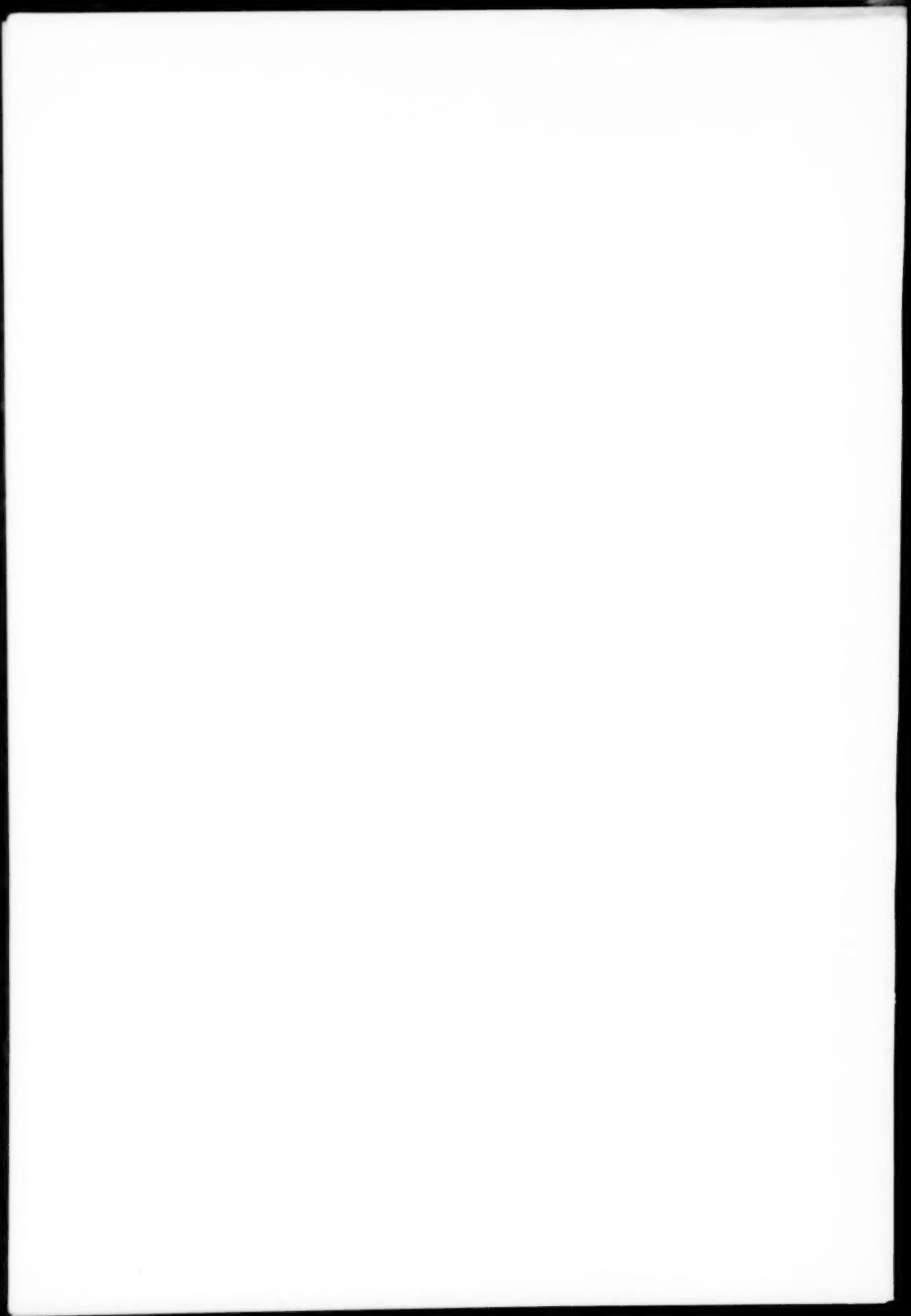
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